1997

A study of some social influences relating to the costuming of the macroplays

Meredith Younger-Murray
University of Wollongong

"And as they be in ordre set of degree, Right so shall her clothyng and arraie bee": A STUDY OF SOME SOCIAL INFLUENCES RELATING TO THE COSTUMING OF THE MACRO PLAYS

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of the degree of

HONOURS MASTER OF ARTS

from

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

by

MEREDITH YOUNGER-MURRAY, BA (Hons), G Dip Ed

English Studies Program

1997

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations

Summary

In this thesis I argue that the costuming practices in the Macro plays show evidence of social upheaval and were showing the authors' concern over maintaining the status quo.

I analysed the plays in turn to determine what evidence there was for costuming. The Virtues' costumes are traditional, often being of biblical origin. The Vices' costumes are secular; rich and fashionable, indicating worldliness. The central human characters' costumes change and most clearly show social influence. These characters are initially either poor, of a labouring class or without possessions. They change from being morally correct, to becoming sinful and then repenting. When they become sinful, they leave the class into which they were born and ascend to the upper class. In this immoral state, their costumes become highly fashionable, indicating their new social status.

I believe that these costumes are used to express disapproval of the social and class changes which occurred as a result of the Black Death and the subsequent breakdown of the manorial system, which in turn led to the Peasants' Revolt and the rise of the concept of individualism. These upheavals affected the class system and were against the belief that the greatest sin was to deny God's intention that people should remain in the class into which they are born.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my great thanks to the two men who will be most thankful that this work is finished; Dr Graham Barwell, my Supervisor and Stuart Murray, my husband.

My thanks also go to Ms Shirley A. Regelous, the grammarian, for her assistance in the proof-reading of this work.

Preface

Modern spellings for the names of the characters generally have been used, except where doing so might have caused confusion. For example Humanum Genus in *The Castle of Perseverance* is not translated as 'Mankind' as this may conflict with the name of *Mankind's* central character. I have also not expanded ampersands where they appear in quotes. Lines are indicated after quotes by the line number in brackets.

The title quotation is taken from Charlotte d'Evelyn's edition of Peter Idley's *Instructions to His Son*, Book II, fol. 72a (69-70).[1]

---

[1] Charlotte d'Evelyn (ed.), Peter Idley's *Instructions to His Son*, Modern Language Association of America Monograph Series 6. London: Oxford University Press; Boston: D. C. Heath and Co.,1935, p.160.

INTRODUCTION

While it is universally accepted that traditional iconography was a strong influence on medieval dramatic costume, many editors, such as Peter Happé, also admit that social situation and circumstance (environment) would have influenced the plays and what message they give to the audience, yet no editor or critic appears to have explored the social factors that may have influenced the plays and particularly their costuming.[1]

It is my intention in this thesis to discuss the costuming of the Macro plays in relation to certain social changes that occurred as a result of the Black Death and the ensuing social structure disturbances which were occurring at the time of the writing of these plays. Costuming practices gave certain signals which would constitute a commentary on those changes in contemporary society.

One of the prime purposes of costume is theatricality. The visual image seen on stage, the spectacle of colour, is essential to the enjoyment of a play. Images may, however, be considered on another level. An image, or an icon, is "a sort of sign that presents a deceptive appearance of naturalness and transparence concealing an opaque, distorting, arbitrary mechanism of representation."[2] It is only through familiarity with the signs, usually through a repeated message, that one may interpret the intended meaning. Costume, in each of the Macro plays, was there to relay the message, iconographically, that God's intention was for His people to remain in the class to which they had been born.

Iconography is the study of what images "say". As Mitchell explains, it is "the way in which [the images] seem to speak for

---

1 Peter Happé (ed.), *Four Morality Plays*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1979, pp. 11-12. Since little is known about the actual productions of the Macro plays, the texts of the plays will be considered to be the main source of evidence for information concerning the costumes, as, it is assumed, the actual costumes' appearance would not have contradicted the characters' dialogue. It will also be assumed, again through lack of any evidence to the contrary, that the modern text accurately represents the mediaeval performance.

2 W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1986, p.8.

themselves by persuading, telling stories or describing."[3] The image, such as that created on the medieval stage by costume, is "a kind of relay connecting theories of art, language and the mind with conceptions of social, cultural and political value."[4] Mitchell uses an example of imagery working in politics when he discusses the English Civil War, arguing that the war "was fought over the issue of images and not just the question of statutes...".[5] Certainly, the nickname of the Cromwellian supporters, the roundheads, was a direct reflection of the image they portrayed, forgoing all ornamentation and decoration in their dress. In this way, they were iconographically reflecting their religious and political beliefs and their wish to restore simplicity to their church. This ideal was reflected in their dress. Charles' men, on the other hand, were iconographically opposed to these roundheads; their image included long, curled wigs, rich, bright fabric and expensive lace. The dress of these men came to represent to their discreditors all that was wrong at court: corruption, moral weakness and lechery.

I have taken the time to explain an instance of iconography in a period that is not directly related to the Macro plays. The information given, however, shows the images of the opposing sides of the Civil War and their iconographic messages. In the Macro plays, once the iconographic signs have been established, it may be possible to determine if ornate costume is worn by the corrupt and plain clothing is worn by the moral. In this way, image, and a character's appearance, is used iconographically to express political, social and religious beliefs and concerns.

The idea that costume was used to express concerns over social change emerged from a previous work, where I discussed the costuming of Bale's *Kynge Johan* (1536), which is well known to have been a work of propaganda in support of Henry VIII against the Church.[6] The costumes in this play were heavily influenced by

---

[3] Mitchell, p.2.

[4] Mitchell, p.2.

[5] Mitchell, p.7.

[6] The term "Church" is used generically to refer to the pope and his dictates, to the clergy and to the corporation that was the greatest social institution in this and earlier times. It must be acknowledged that the Church was not always a unified body.

social factors, so much so that very few elements can be said to be traditional. Sedition's costume, however, retains one earlier feature, the large nose on a huge head. This costume for a devilish character also appears in *Mankind* where Titivillus wears a "hede þat ys of grett omnipotens" (461). As *Mankind* is from 1465, this costuming feature had been used for at least 70 years. Lucifer's, and his fellow devils', greatest sin is pride and it is this, and the tradition of giving devils huge heads, that has given us the practice of calling someone who is proud "big headed". These costuming practices showed that there was a history of the same type of costumes being used for the same characters, at least between 1400 and 1536. I was therefore interested to see if there was also a shared history of social change being commented on, as it was in *Kynge Johan,* but again in plays from the Macro period. The Macro plays will, therefore, be analysed to determine the extent to which costuming is used to highlight social concerns, particularly in regard to the strengthening of the sense of individual autonomy.

Belsey, in her work *The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama,* argues that the individual in Renaissance drama, is one who is the subject, "the 'I' who speaks and the 'I' who acts" and who is "the free, unconstrained author of meaning and action".[7] She explains that the subject is "held in place" because he only has a limited number of meanings or signifying practices, based on his historical, social and economic situation. While subjects work to produce and reproduce their social formation, sometimes they change the signifying practices, since these are never static. Signifying practices do not only have one single meaning, nor are these meanings fixed. When a character "speaks" with personal authority, they are able "to take part in the contest for meaning which issues in the production of new-subject positions, new determinations of what it is possible to be".[8] Belsey

---

Certainly Christians, both clergy and congregation, may be said to have believed the tenets of the Nicene creed. There were, however, many variations in both church practices (services) and in the interpretation of those Christian beliefs. One such example of this was Wycliffe's Lollard movement from about 1380.

7 Belsey, Catherine, *The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama,* Methuen, London and New York, 1985, p.8.

8 Belsey, p.6.

argues that characters in medieval morality plays lack individual autonomy, they are not the 'I' of speech and utterance. She contends that the human character is "an instrument in constant process". By this she is indicating that this character is merely an instrument, to be used and manipulated, lacking individual power and that he must choose the "direction of earthly pilgrimage", whether that is sin or grace.[9] She describes these protagonists as "bewildered, gullible victims of a war in which they must participate but which they do not initiate."[10] Belsey argues that Humanum Genus in *The Castle of Perseverance* only "speak[s] to define his own condition."[11] He is "faint and feeble, bemused, uncertain whether to go or stay; he does not know why he was born; he has no power to help himself."[12] When the Angels debate over Humanum Genus' fate, he speaks only to say he is perplexed by the choice; "As wynde in watyr I wave" (379). This, argues Belsey, sets the pattern for the rest of the play. Humanum Genus says relatively little within the playing area, "all intellectual and visual authority belongs to the towering figures: his assent is the stake in a contest which takes place around him, outside him, largely beyond his understanding."[13] Even though he uses "I" to indicate himself as the subject of the sentence, he is "rarely the *agent* of the action concerning himself."[14] Belsey continues with "Man ... is ... a transitory configuration of fragments, of states of being over which he has only the most minimal control. This control is so tenuous that in *Wisdom,* though humanity is the stake in the contest between Christ and Lucifer, the human figure is not represented in this play. Instead Anima and her three faculties are alternatively corrupted and redeemed."[15] In *Mankind*, Belsey also sees evidence of a lack of individual autonomy, of subjectivity. She perceives irony in the instruction to Mankind, "the temptacyon of the flesch ye must resyst lyke a man" (226), since she sees the strength to do this coming not from Mankind but from God: "Virtue is no more than

---

9 Belsey, p.16.
10 Belsey, p.16.
11 Belsey, p.15.
12 Belsey, pp.14-15.
13 Belsey, p.15.
14 Belsey, p.15.
15 Belsey, pp.16-17.

consent to [God's and Christ's] operation."[16] Mankind is adjured to "Oppresse yowr gostly enmy and be Crystys own knyght" (228-9), but Belsey comments that "Christ's own knight is precisely that, led, motivated, fortified by a power which lies elsewhere."[17] Using the stage plan of *The Castle of Perseverance*, Belsey argues that the spectators participate in the protagonist's choice and recognise "Mankind's discontinuity as a configuration of fragments of their own condition, and simultaneously ... close off the anarchic possibilities which that recognition releases."[18]

Belsey's purpose in analysing the morality plays is to compare them with later seventeenth century plays where characters show individuality and self determination. These later plays show their protagonist up against human agencies, rather than the supernatural beings in the morality plays. Belsey, focusing mainly on renaissance drama, shows how characters from this period have control over their destinies, at least when pitted against human adversaries. She compares this control to the lack of power of the Humanum Genus character and determines that the medieval character did not have individual authority. She does not fully explain, however, that in the renaissance examples, humans battle humans but in *The Castle of Perseverance* the competition is with supernatural beings.

Belsey comments that in the time of the Tudors, drama was under centralized control and there was an elaborate system of licensing for plays and players. In the time of the Stuarts there was royal control of companies that were previously under London control and the Revels Office had greater jurisdiction. In the seventeenth century the Master of the Revels was responsible for ensuring that no seditious matter was presented on stage. The Master had the power to change words, remove plays and even imprison playwrights.[19] These instances indicate that there were, obviously, individuals who were not following the accepted guide-lines as to

---

[16] Belsey, p.17.
[17] Belsey, p.17.
[18] Belsey, p.23.
[19] Belsey, p.7.

what was permissible in their drama. I presume that the stricter penalties, such as imprisonment, were for playwrights who deliberately flouted what they would have known was acceptable to the Master. In this way, they would have been showing their belief in the importance of their work, perhaps displaying their individuality and thereby forging new social signifiers by extending the meanings currently used. Belsey, while arguing that there was little subjectivity in the early Macro plays, believes that there were many obvious signs of this in the period from the Tudors through to modern drama. These arguments and examples are elaborated on during the subsequent chapters of *The Subject of Tragedy*. Belsey devalues Humanum Genus' choice when he turns to God, claiming that "Virtue is no more than consent", but does not deal with the fact that "consent" is permission to act on an acknowledged choice, especially in this situation where the choice is made and consent is given to Christ to act in his life. Later, Humanum Genus chooses the Vices' protection. Certainly, it must be acknowledged that these choices were made after the protagonist was given deceptive information, but the choice was still available. After a choice is made however, individuality gives way to subservience. Walter Ullman in *The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages* explains that through baptism, people were reborn as part of the Christian community and designated as "fidelis" which means that they were no longer "endowed with autonomous, indigenous functions insofar as they related to the management of public affairs ... The consequence of the incorporation is that [their] fidelitas, [their] faithfulness, consisted precisely in [their] obeying the law of those who were instituted over [them] by divinity."[20] This faithfulness to those instituted over them was translated into practice in a number of ways. Firstly, medieval society was stratified into a number of estates.[21] The hallmark of medieval

---

[20] Ullman, Walter, *The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages*, Methuen and Co., London, 1967, p.9.

[21] These estates, the foundation of the feudal system, were based on land because land represented wealth and power. At the top of the feudal hierarchy was the King, who was believed to retain his place by divine right. Below him were the nobles of the ruling class. The chief nobles were the barons and the knights and squires were lesser nobles. These lords owned the villages where two groups could be found. Yeomen were free men who rented their land while Villeins were granted land to farm but were required to work for three days on their lord's property. The main

society was that members could not move out of the estate into which they had been born: "Each member of society [had to] fulfil the functions which were alloted to him, because this was held to be the effluence of the divine order of things."[22] According to the Pauline exhortion of *1 Cor.* 7:20, "Unusquique maneat in ea vocatione in qua dignoscitur vocatus."[23] The second characteristic of medieval society was, again, based on Paul, and he uses "the human body as a model in order to demonstrate the various functions within the *unum corpus christi* (*1 Cor.* 12:4ff, *Eph.* 1:23, *Rom.* 12:5)."[24] This thesis led to the allegory that the head directs the other parts of the body like the "caput" (the king or pope) and is the law "given from above" over all subjects. People therefore had no recourse to complain about their superiors, as the king was on his throne through divine authority, and he had been granted the power to bestow power, in turn, on those whom he wished. To defy his wishes was to defy God. It was a prevailing medieval viewpoint that people *were* born unequal.[25] When people attempted to alter this, to deny the class into which they were born and seek to enter a higher class, they were defying God, and acting, not for the good of "fidelitas" but for their own personal gratification and want. There is no notion of fulfilling social requirements or group needs in satisfying self. When Humanum Genus turns to the Vices, he does so to satisfy his body's needs. When Mankind leaves his position as a simple farmer, it is for the attractions that the N-Vices have to offer. Anima's Three Mights leave Wisdom for lechery, money and power. The protagonists do, therefore, make choices and they do act through personal interest. They do, therefore, exhibit individuality in society. This thesis will argue that those who choose virtue and maintain "fidelitas" have their place in the divine stratification of society. This is reinforced for the audience of the Macro plays

---

division between these groups, the knights and squires on one hand and the Yeomen, is distinguished broadly, according to G. Wickham (*Early English Stages*, Vol I, 1300-1576, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1980, p.260) as leaders and led. He argues that drama stemming from social recreation was therefore likely to be "limited in its audience appeal (because created for coteries) than that stemming from religion". (Wickham, p.260).

22 Ullman, p.42.

23 This may be translated as "Everybody should abide in that calling to which he is known to have been called."

24 Ullman, p.43.

25 Ullman, p.13.

through the Virtues' traditional, orthodox, often co-ordinated costumes, while the protagonist and the minor Vices indicate their selfish individuality through their changed, and often outrageous, garb. Certain Vices of higher rank are dressed to represent their vice.

I believe that, in this way, the authors are visually expressing their conservatism in regard to Christian tenets and social structure. Unfortunately, however, because of the lack of any pre-*Castle of Perseverance* moralities, other than disjointed fragments or references, such as to the Pater Noster play, it is difficult to determine whether costume was used to represent moral position and social commentary from the time of the Macro plays only or if the practice had become an established tradition by this time.

Another difficulty is speculating about what the authors of medieval plays may have been influenced by, and how these influences would have emerged in the costuming of their plays, especially when the authors are not known. It is because of these difficulties that the three Macro plays were chosen. These plays are ideal to study as a set, as they were all written during the first three-quarters of the fifteenth century and all appear to be from the East Anglian district.[26] During this time, the authors would have experienced the great changes brought about by the Black Death, as well as the decline of the feudal system and disruption in the Church, social occurrences that were all linked. East Anglia too was a district of great importance, housing one of the great cathedrals, Bury St. Edmunds, as well as being of major commercial importance, particularly to the cloth and wool industry, attracting many aspirants to social mobility. As such, East Anglia would have played a prominent part in any social changes. With such momentous happenings, it would be logical that if evidence of social influences on costuming were to be present, there should be an indication of them in the Macro plays.

Before any discussion of the exact nature of other changes in the society of the Macro playwrights occurs, it is first important to

---

[26] See the evidence for these statements on dating and place later in this chapter.

confirm that the provenance of these plays was indeed East Anglia. Once this is achieved, the effects of changes and disruptions in the social hierarchy, both locally and nationally, may be judged as well as the extent to which these may be seen in the plays.

The manuscript of the Macro plays has had an interesting history of ownership, with *Mankind* and *Wisdom* belonging first to a monk named Hyngham, then a Robert Oliver, and later, the Revd. Cox Macro (1683-1767), who also acquired *The Castle of Perseverance*, and from whom the collection's name is taken. Macro was a resident of Bury St. Edmunds. The three plays, *The Castle of Perseverance, Wisdom* and *Mankind,* along with three other plays, were bound together and then sold in 1819. From here the Macro plays were separated from the others and bound together and in 1904 were first edited by F. J. Furnivall and introduced by Alfred Pollard.[27] Since this date, the plays have been published in a number of forms, both together and individually. I will use the standard, relatively recent, edition by Mark Eccles for the Early English Text Society in this thesis.[28]

It is necessary to study any piece of writing in reference to its period and provenance. This is also true of the Macro plays which were all seemingly written in the same general area and at about the same time. Despite evidence of both an earlier and a later date for crackows, most critics believe that *The Castle of Perseverance* was written between 1400 and 1425, based almost solely on the reference in line 1059 to "crakows", a type of shoe featuring an elongated toe. The *Oxford English Dictionary* has dated the use of the word "crackow" or "crakow" from about 1367 to sometime in the fifteenth century.[29] The Wharncliffe Hours, believed to have

---

27 Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada,* ii, B. Franklin, New York, 1937, p.2272, has provided the evidence for this history. There is no doubt concerning Hyngham's ownership, as his name is written in the text. See page 14 of this chapter for further information on Hyngham. F. J. Furnivall and Alfred W. Pollard (ed.), *The Macro Plays,* E.E.T.S., Extra Series, xci, Oxford University Press, London, 1904, p. xxx.

28 Mark Eccles, *The Macro Plays,* E.E.T.S., no. 262, Oxford University Press, London, 1969. Notes on the general dating and provenance of the Macro plays will be from this volume.

29 "Crakow",*The Oxford English Dictionary,* 2nd ed., 1989.

been executed in Angers about 1475-80 and belonging, until recently, to the Earl of Wharncliffe, includes many illustrations of men wearing crackows. The calendar illustration of April shows a fashionably dressed young man wearing elongated shoes paying court to an equally fashionable young woman (Fig.1a). May has what appears to be the same couple riding out hawking (Fig.1b). It can be seen in this illustration that the young woman is also wearing long pointed shoes, as one peeps from the hem of her gown. The torturers of St Sebastian are also wearing long pointed shoes as they fire arrows into the saint's body (Fig. 2). *The Simon Marmion Hours,* also from 1475-80, shows the shepherds being told by an angel of the birth of Christ (Fig.3). The shepherds, particularly the one on the left, shown in profile, may be seen to be wearing ankle boots with long pointed toes.

The Castle of Perseverance also mentions the practice of jagging or slashing the borders of costume for decoration: "Jagge þi clothis in euery cost" (1060). Evidence from *The Middle English Dictionary* indicates that this style appears to have been popular from at least 1394, with the Wardrobe Account for Richard II for this year mentioning "dagges", to 1459, where the *Paston Letters* has a reference to a "iagged huke".[30] There is little textual evidence of dagging pre 1400. There is visual evidence of dagging pre 1400 in an illustration from between 1352-62 in the *Roman du Roi Meliadus* which has the king on his throne wearing a short sleeved garment (over a long sleeved one). The edges of the short sleeves appear to be dagged. In addition to this, a noble, to his left, has his shoulder-cape edges dagged.[31] While there are a great number of visual instances of dagging after 1400, one of the most beautiful examples is from the *Hours of Mary of Guelders,* 1415 (Fig. 4). Here, Mary of Guelders is shown in her garden. Her dress is blue, lined with white, which is exposed by the turned back hem of her sleeve. These sleeves and the skirt hem (to a smaller extent) are deeply and beautifully dagged, a process that, in this case, echoes the

---

30 "Dagge" in *The Middle English Dictionary,* Vol. D-Dywe, p.814B., and letter 389 (John Fastolf's Wardrobe) in James Gairdner (ed.), *The Paston Letters, AD 1422-1509,* Chatto and Windus, London, 1904, p.175.

31 This is reproduced in Joan Evans, *Dress in Mediaeval France,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1952, illustration 20a.

Fig. 1a & b 'April and May', f.2v and f.3, *The Wharncliffe Hours*; rpt. in Margaret Manion, *The Wharncliffe Hours*, Art Monograph 1 (Sydney: Sydney University Press for The Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1972) plates IIIa and b.

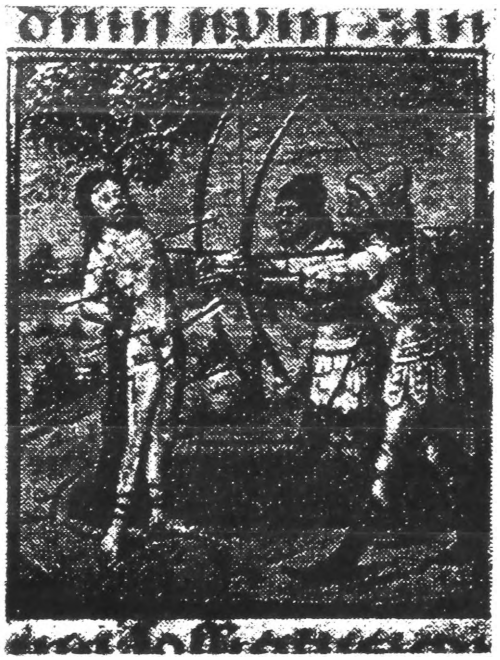

Fig. 2 'The Torture of St. Sebastian', f.114v., *The Wharncliffe Hours*; rpt. in Margaret Manion, *The Wharncliffe Hours*, Art Monograph 1 (Sydney: Sydney University Press for The Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1972) plate IIIh.

Fig. 3 'Angel and Shepherds', f.85v-86, *The Simon Marmion Hours*, Franco- Flemish school, 1475-81; rpt. in John Harthan, *Books of Hours* (London: Thames and Hudson) 1977, p.146.

Fig. 4 'The Annunciation (Mary of Guelders in a Walled Garden)', ff.19v, *Hours of Mary of Guelders,* Guelders, German-Dutch; Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, ms. germ. quart. 42; rpt. in John Harthan, *Books of Hours* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977) p.78.

edges of the wings of the angels that circle above her. The majority of the illustrations, featuring dagging, belong to the period 1410-1425. There are very few illustrations from after 1425, perhaps indicating that the practice became less popular after this date.

The Middle English Dictionary has gathered together dated instances of references where both crackows and the practice of dagging are mentioned. It quotes: 1) *Eulogium Historium* (1362): "Habent etiam sotulares rostratas in unius digiti longitudine quae crakowes vocantur; potius judicantur ungula ... daemonum quam ornamenta hominum"; 2) Wycliffe's *Antichrist* (1475) (2) p.cxxviii: "men to kerue here morsellis wiþ tagged cloþes and crakowe pykis"; 3) *Higden Rolls VIII, App. 467*: cite a man (in 1425? 1475?) "Compelled to eite the crawcows and leder of his schoone" and from J. Kail, *Twenty-six Political and Other Poems.*: Dagged cloþes/ And longe pyked crakowed shon".[32] From the evidence of costume, therefore, *The Castle of Perseverance* may date from at least 1367 to 1480.

As stated, many authors and editors believe that *The Castle of Perseverance* was written between 1400 and 1425. Pollard places it "as early as possible, not much later than 1425", C. M. Gayley has placed it at 1400-1410, Walter Smart at c.1405 and J. Bennett slightly earlier at "before the turn of the century, perhaps in the latter half of the of the last decade of the fourteenth century".[33] Pollard states that "The date of *The Castell of Perseverance*, which can scarcely be later than the middle of the reign of King Henry VI,

---

32 H. Kurath and S. Kuhn, *The Middle English Dictionary*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1959 and J. Kail, *Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems from the Oxford Mss. Digby 102 and Douce 322*, E.E.T.S. Original Series 124, 1904, p.93. The Eulogium Historium quotation may be translated, "They have also curved toes, one little finger in length, called crackows. They should be judged claws of devils rather than the ornaments of men".

33 Eccles, p.xi. F.J. Furnivall and A.W Pollard, p.xxiv, p. x. C.M. Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, Biblo and Tannen, New York, 1968, pp.281 and 293. W.K. Smart, 'The Castle of Perseverance; Place, Date and a Source', *Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature*, Chicago, 1923, pp.42-53 quoted in Eccles, p.x. J. Bennett, 'The Castle of Perseverance: Redactions, Place, and Date', Mediaeval Studies, Vol. 24, 1962, pp. 151-52.

is nearly a half-century earlier than that of any Morality yet printed in its entirety".[34]

It is difficult to determine the place of authorship of *The Castle of Perseverance.* Smart and Bennett believe it to have been originally written "in or near Lincoln", due to the fact that "þe galows of Canwyke" (2421) were in Lincoln.[35] While the reference to the gallows of Canwick may indicate that the play belongs to this area, it may also be that these gallows were simply very well known to all districts in much the same way that Tyburn in London was. That Canwick was previously in use, and possibly well- known, is born out by Smart who quotes a reference to these gallows and the hanging there of Jews responsible for the murder of Hugh of Lincoln in 1255.[36] It is possible that the gallows were still a by-word at the time of *The Castle of Perseverance,* nearly two hundred years later. This is not conclusive, however, as Smart may have simply found a single incidence of their use. Eccles does not believe that *The Castle of Perseverance* was from Lincoln as the language features are "quite different from that of any other manuscript having known associations with that area".[37] He cites these differences: "the third person present singular verb ends in *-th, -t* and only rarely in *-s*; 'shall' is written 'schal', not 'sal', and the object form of the third person plural pronoun is always 'hem', not 'þam', 'þaim' or 'þem', a usage totally alien to the city of Lincoln ... The vocabulary is East Midland with strong Northern influences".[38] This vocabulary includes such items as "brustun-gutte" (235, burst-gut or greedy person), "rakle" (2653, haste/hurry), "tak" (2987, endurance/tenure or leasehold) and "tyne" (3198 lose). These words and the many others cited by Smart are used in both Northern and East Midland texts.[39] Eccles believes that the play was written in the East Midlands, possibly Norfolk, as does Furnivall, as "evidence from vocabulary, phonology, and accidence is consistent with such a provenance". Based on the extensive language evidence,

---

34 Pollard, *English Miracle Plays,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1904, p. 197.
35 Smart pp.42-53 and Bennett, p.149.
36 Smart, p. 42-53.
37 Eccles, p. xi.
38 Eccles, p. xi.
39 Smart, p.42.

it is therefore most likely that *The Castle of Perseverance* is from 1400-1425 and from the East Midlands, possibly Norfolk.

There is more evidence for the dating of *Mankind* than for the other two Macro plays. This play is generally believed to have been written about 1465. This is based on line 465: "Gyf ws rede reyallys", and lines 689-90: "Anno regni regitalis/ Edwardi nullateni".[40] This evidence indicates that the play can be no earlier than 1465 when royals were first coined.[41] D. C. Baker confirms this dating, stating that all coins from the reign of Edward IV were mentioned in the play except the angel, which appeared between 1468 and 1470, thereby dating *Mankind* from between 1465 and 1468-70.[42] This is not conclusive as the angel may have been deliberately or accidently omitted by the author. This would allow for a date later than 1468-70. The evidence for the provenance of *Mankind* is also stronger than for the other Macro plays as not only is the dialect from the East Midlands but the scribe also uses the East Anglian *x* for *sh-*, lines 505-515 refer to Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, and there is, in line 274, a reference to Bury in Suffolk.[43]

Pollard has dated *Wisdom* at 1460 (with the copy being used by him dated 1475), whereas Smart claims that it was written slightly later, between 1460 and 1463.[44] Eccles does not give any exact evidence as to the dating of *Wisdom*, merely stating that "*Mankind* was probably written between 1465 and 1470, and the language of *Wisdom* seems to be of about the same period", indicating that the language features appearing in *Wisdom* are similar to those in *Mankind*.[45] He does, however, relate that there were a number of

---

[40] The Latin may be generally translated as "in the year of the reign of King Edward, the nothing" and is perhaps a rudeness, implying that Edward IV, as a king, was nothing. This is possibly a commentary on Edward IV's unpopular, 1464, marriage to Elizabeth Woodville.

[41] W. K. Smart, *Some English and Latin Sources and Parallels for the Morality of Wisdom*, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1912, p.89.

[42] D.C. Baker, 'The Date of *Mankind*', *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. 42, 1963, pp.90-91.

[43] Eccles p. xxxviii.

[44] Pollard, p.xxiv. W.K. Smart, *Some English and Latin Sources*, p. 89.

[45] Eccles p.xxx.

men by the name of Hyngham (of various spellings) who lived at about the time of the play's composition, between the years of about 1447 and 1479. There are at least three possibilities for the identity of this man. Thomas Hyngham, a monk of Bury St. Edmunds, wrote his name in a fifteenth century copy of Boethius. Thomas Hengham, a monk of Norwich (fl. 1447), owned two Latin manuscripts. Richard Hengham or Hyngham, Doctor of Canon Law, was abbot of Bury from 1474-1479.[46] Whoever the owner, Eccles has commented that the scribe/author of *Wisdom* is from the East Midlands as he uses a variation of this dialect, which has features such as the use of *x* for *sh-*, for example 'shall' is spelt "xall" (51) and 'should' "xulde" (340), and *w* for *wh,* as in "wyche" (5) and "wyght" (16 s.d), both of which are common in Norfolk and Suffolk.

The available evidence indicates that the Macro plays were written in the East Midlands area between the years 1400 and 1470. This thesis will argue that costumes were being used by the playwrights to express their dissatisfaction over changes that had been occurring around them, particularly in regard to social mobility. In order to make this judgement, what is known about current social changes, the general audience, and how these changes impacted upon this audience, needs to be established.[47]

Social evils were generally perceived, at this time, to be the punishment for sin. Mediaeval people had many examples from the Old Testament of God's hand in the destruction of wicked society and may, therefore, have been able to equate the Black Death and subsequent social change to God's overall plan. On the other hand, there was no biblical precedent for the Great Schism, a period from 1378-1417 when there was not one pope but three, each fighting for office and backed by his own band of followers. The schism must surely have perplexed papal subjects and left them doubting the truth of the "divine ordinance". In addition to this, there was great general distrust in the clergy as a whole, and particularly in

---

[46] N.R. Ker (ed.), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd Edition, Offices of the Royal Historical Society, London, 1964, pp.234 and 285.

[47] Background information concerning actors, acting style, the audience, production and general costuming theories will be discussed in the following chapter.

regard to bishops. Bishops, generally, were men of the world. They were appointed by the king (generally after being approved by the pope) and, according to G. M. Trevelyan, "worked hard, not at the visitation of their diocese and the supervision of their spiritual courts, but at the administration of the country and at the royal finance and diplomacy".[48] This power was often detrimental to the churches. For example, in 1360, the Black Prince and his father obtained a bishopric "for a man unable even to read his letters, by persuading the Pope to approve the appointment, against his own better judgement and the will of the English Primate."[49] In return for allowing the King choice of the episcopal bench, the Pope appointed his cardinals to other places in the English Church. This, in turn, saw the removal of English money back to the Pope.

Occasionally the Pope did select a bishop from those Englishmen high in his favour at Avignon. In 1370, the bishopric of Norwich was given by the Pope to the brother of a captain in his Italian army. The brother, Henry Spence, the new bishop, had also served in the wars in the Italian states. He was later responsible for expediting the conclusion of the Peasants' Revolt. While he maintained loyalty to the papacy, he did, eventually, hold political office under the English crown.[50]

That there was not just divided interests but actual corruption in the episcopate through to the lower clergy is known through the satirical commentary of the time.[51] That the pope and the king, supposedly appointed by the authority of God, might not be able to stem the corruption and might, in fact, be initiating it, caused great upset in the kingdom. Certainly, it would have been human nature for the people to have had a lessening reliance on the authority of their word. This may have led to a distrust in the right of the social system, great emotional confusion and an increasing reliance on self. From these changes Wycliffe and his Lollards preached that the Church should give up all worldly possessions and

---

48 George Macauly Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1915, p.107.

49 Trevelyan, p.108.

50 Trevelyan, p.109.

51 See p. 130, *Mankind* chapter for details of one of these.

also that the Bible should be translated into English so that all people who could read could determine its meanings for themselves, rather than relying on the "discredited authority of the Church".[52] Wycliffe also did not believe that penance or confession to a priest were necessary. He held, as his authority for this, the acts of the Apostles, who only had voluntary confession.[53] Wycliffe argued that confession directly to God, preferably in public, was superior to using the clergy as intermediaries. This greater reliance on self indicated in Wycliffe's teaching began in 1378 and continued in a dwindling form until the Protestant movement began when Lollard beliefs gained popularity. The introduction of the concept of self confession and self determination of the meanings in the Bible were only some of the changes occurring at the time of the writing of the Macro plays. One of the greatest changes, and one which impacted upon all social classes, was the decline of the feudal system.[54]

Feudal society at the beginning of the fourteenth century consisted of the nobility and gentry and the common people. The Black Death, first appearing in about 1348, in the reign of Edward III, is believed, in the absence of accurate records, to have reduced the English population by about 1,500,000, or between one half and one third.[55] There was, therefore, a great shortage of labourers. Landowners, in an effort to overcome this shortage, altered the farming practices that had been used for generations and changed to sheep farming. This needed fewer workers than traditional agriculture which was based on the cultivation of crops (only one shepherd was needed for a number of pastures), and had a great profit margin, as was evident from those who farmed sheep, sold the fleece, bought ships and were then able to diversify and extend their markets overseas. Landowners also began to lease their land since the labour shortage had made the practice of customary service impossible and many landowners were finding it difficult

---

52 'Wycliffe', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., Vol. 12, p.787.

53 Trevelyan, p.140.

54 The summary of the history of this period was taken from E.F. Jacob, pp.369-380 and Charles Poulsen, *The English Rebels*, Journeyman Press, London and New York, 1984.

55 Poulsen, pp.6-7.

to have their land cultivated profitably. Since many landowners relied on farming for their livelihood and profits, and since there were no workers to work the land for them, many landowners leased out their property to others for sheep farming. A profit margin was of great importance to the landowners whose coffers were depleted through over-taxation after the near-continuous war and strife experienced by England abroad.

When the population began to increase again there was growing unemployment as workers were no longer necessary to the land which had provided work for their forefathers, since the adjustments had been made to cope with the reduced population and because of declining dependence upon labour intensive agriculture. There was great civil disturbance from some who perceived that they had been unfairly treated. Some of these displaced workers, who were also dissatisfied at the rising taxes levelled at them by a ruling class also made poorer from the seemingly endless war, banded together and marched to London under the leadership of John Ball and Wat Tyler in 1381. These peasants developed a policy in four clauses: 1) Alliance to a young King Richard II whom many believed was being adversely influenced by protectors; 2) Opposition to John of Gaunt, Richard's main adviser, believed to be responsible for many of the ills felt by the people; 3) No taxation of the commons except for the accepted tax of one-fifteenth of income; and 4) Readiness to act for these objects.[56] Disgruntled men banded together into gangs, nominally supported by powerful lords, who terrorized all, according to several of the *Paston Letters* (particularly numbers 146, 179 and 201), from the landed class to old peasant women.[57] Bennett, an editor and commentator on the *Paston Letters,* has commented that "The Vagrant was quick to see that under the livery of a great lord he was practically immune from ordinary justice: and he knew that, so long as he fought when ordered, and gave his master no trouble, few questions were likely to be asked as to how he spent his leisure. The great lords themselves relied on the power of arms, rather than the pleas

---

56 Poulsen, p.14.

57 James Gairdner, no. 146, Vol. 1, p.193; no. 179, Vol. 1, p. 237; no. 201, Vol. 1, p. 277.

of their lawyers: and the rest of England took its lead from them".[58] It was perceived that those who were in the service of a lord, and thus wore livery, could commit any crime, and the law was too lacking in concern or too weak to prevent the outrage. Might was right and lords had their own private gangs of men to support their occasionally unfair and lawless claims. These disturbances are well documented for the East Anglian area through the *Paston Letters*. These letters detail how in 1452 the king, Henry VI, sent the Duke of Norfolk down to enquire into the strife. One perpetrator of the strife, a Lord Scales, was well known to be the protector of criminals in his employ. Before the Duke of Norfolk arrived, Scales' men let it be known that if anyone gave information against them, they would feel the revenge of Scales' gang.[59] Scales was not the only corrupt individual with influence. John Paston details in *The Paston Letters* how he laid information of "divers assaults and riots made by Charles Nowells [a friend of Lord Scales and leader of a "band of ruffians"] and others ... upon John Paston and other of our kin, friends and neighbours".[60] This is merely one instance in the *Letters* of a seemingly endless supply of tales of outrage practised against those who offended the sensibilities of the powerful people of the 1400s.

The law was preoccupied with war and foreign trade and corruption was allowed to flourish at home. As the Peasants' Revolt shows, the working people recognised this, blaming the ruling class, those who controlled the law. Bribery and corruption were commonplace, so much so that William Paston, later himself a justice, advised a client that his best course of action was to drop his suit as his opponent was a friend of the Duke of Norfolk and therefore, with such powerful support, the case was already lost.[61]

The distinctions between the gentry, or ruling class, and the lower, or working class, were beginning to crumble and people did not always belong to the same class as their forefathers nor indeed

---

58 H. S. Bennett, *The Pastons and their England,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1922, pp.181-2.

59 Bennett, p. 184.

60 James Gairdner, nos. 173-175, Vol. 1, pp. 229-233.

61 James Gairdner, no 28, Vol. 1, p. 42.

have their power. It was now beginning to be possible for a lower class bully to be in close service to a lord or for the gentry, such as John Paston, to be openly terrorized and for the criminal to go unpunished, if he had a powerful protector. The authors of the Macro plays appear to be conservative in that they are critical of those who would advance their social standing, believing that it is God's will that they be born and live out their lives in a certain class. As previously mentioned, Humanum Genus of *The Castle of Perseverance* begins life in a low station, "Bare and pore is my clothynge" (293), but soon improves his lot and enters the service of King World. Humanum Genus later realizes his sin and joins the Virtues where he is happy until he reaches old age. At this point Humanum Genus, at the prompting of the Bad Angel and the World, becomes covetous: "On Coueytyse is al hys lust" (2674). World bestows land and wealth again on Humanum Genus but when Humanum Genus is visited by Death, World takes the "parkys, placys, and penys rounde" (2914) back and gives them to Garcio, whom he tells to "putte [Humanum Genus] oute of hys halle" (2898). Garcio declares himself to be now in the service of the World, as was Humanum Genus, "I haue ben hys page" (2938), and when Humanum Genus realizes the full import of what Garcio, I Wot Neuere Whoo, is receiving, he cries out that his land and his possessions are being given to one who is "not of [his] kyn" (2943). Humanum Genus may therefore be seen to have been elevated above his station at the beginning of his life into the service of a noble, King World. When he chooses to return to his place, he is accepted but later opts to again leave his class and revert to being a wealthy landowner. As he dies, he is punished, not by the Virtues, who welcomed him when he returned to his (spiritual) place, but by the Vices, those who tempted him to leave his social, and his ordained, sphere for theirs. An analysis of this might conclude that it is only when Humanum Genus leaves his social class that he is punished, and punished by those whom he believed were his friends. To extrapolate, the upperclass deludes and punishes those who seek to join it.

This pattern whereby a commoner thinks above his station and is punished for it is not unique to *The Castle of Perseverance.* In

Mankind, a similar situation of social conflict is also enacted. The Vices, Mischief, Nought, Nowadays and New Guise, are clearly to be identified with those rising from one class to another. They are obsessed with their clothing, which, as their names suggest, is in the height of fashion. These Vices behave like idle young men of the upperclass, bored through a lack of occupation and turning to crime to relieve their tedium. As an indicator of this social class, the Vices clearly are educated, as they are able to parody Latin text, for example, "Corn seruit bredibus, chaffe horsibus, straw fyrybusque" (57). Nowadays claims that he is "a clen jentyllman" (483). Mankind, on the other hand, is clearly of the lower class. This is shown through his activities and his words, "Thys erth wyth my spade I xall assay to delffe" (328) and he further distances himself from the bored and mischief-loving Vices: "To eschew ydullnes, I do yt myn own selffe" (329), indicating that perhaps they had people to till the land for them. In contrast to *The Castle of Perseverance,* Mankind is not bribed to leave his class group. He leaves to join the Vices through freedom of choice after experiencing the frustrations of his work when Titivillus planted his field with planks and after having doubts about his religion. Mankind soon joins the Vices verbally, declaring that he will commit the deadly sins (705-717), and visually, by accepting a more fashionable garment. He later despairs of being forgiven by Christ and returns to virtue through Mercy.

There are indications in this play that there was dissatisfaction felt by members of the audience about some country gentry, possibly local lords. This is indicated, for example, by the sly digs at Master Huntyngton of Sauston, Wylliam Thurlay of Hauston, Pycharde of Trumpyngton, Wyllyham Baker of Waltom, Master Woode of Fullburn and Master Alyngton of Botysam (504-515). These people were all well-known in the area from which *Mankind* is believed to have come; many of them were not only well-born but influential, "Master Alyngton" or William Allington, M.P, being perhaps Edward IV's standard bearer at Barnet in April 1471.[62] As the Vices were to visit these worthies, perhaps they were known to be corrupt.

---

[62] Eccles, *Mankind* notes for lines 505-515, p.222.

When discussing different influences that the audience and authors of these morality plays may have been working under, it is valuable to consider what the contemporary thoughts were concerning visual religion. Meg Twycross, in her excellent article on picture theory, comments extensively on the fact that people at this time wanted their religion made concrete and visual. The people were seeking primary evidence of their faith or, as Twycross has succinctly commented, "seeing is believing".[63] She argues that by seeing people seek forgiveness and being forgiven, the audience are able to experience their faith. Twycross calls this "making a concept visible".[64] I believe that iconography, or traditional religious symbolism, is valuable in this circumstance, as it would enhance the depth of experience for the audience without having the religious message made explicit in a sermon format. Twycross sums up the importance of costuming in the plays, believing that people respond not to verbal arguments (such as preaching) but to visual and, therefore, what she calls emotional authority. By this she means that people need more than words, they need pictures to reinforce the image in their mind, and that once this has been achieved, they are convinced. Miracles and divine intervention were, therefore, considered suitable and interesting material for the stage.[65]

Many authors have commented upon this use of religious symbolism including David Bevington, A. Williams and Huston Diehl.[66] Williams comments in particular that many religious motifs were made physical. For example, to illustrate the concept God is reconciled with his people, the Daughters of God are shown kissing each

---

63 M. Twycross,'Beyond the Picture Theory: Image and Activity in Medieval Drama', *Word and Image in the Theatre,* Vol 4, No. 3 and 4, July - December 1988, pp.589-617.

64 Twycross, pp.589-617.

65 Twycross, pp.589-617.

66 David Bevington, '"Blake and wyght, fowll and fayer": Stage Picture in *Wisdom*' , in M.C. Riggio (ed.), *The Wisdom Symposium,* AMS Press, Inc., New York, 1986, pp.18-38. A. Williams, 'The English Moral Play before 1500', *Annuale Mediaevali,* Vol.4, 1963, pp.5-22. H. Diehl, 'Inversion, Parody, and Irony: The Visual Rhetoric of Renaissance English Tragedy', *Studies in English Literature,* Vol 22, 1982, pp.197-209.

other.[67] Williams has also commented extensively on the symbolism of numbers in *The Castle of Perseverance*; for example three (the Trinity and The Theological Virtues and the enemies of Mankind- the World, the Devil and the Flesh), four (The Cardinal Virtues) and seven (The Liberal Virtues). Williams also remarks that in the plays the authors have given the audience a set of symbols that will allow them to "establish the parallels quickly and unmistakably".[68] Diehl remarks that, generally speaking, external appearances indicate inner personality.[69] He also comments extensively on the symbols carried by many of the characters that aid the audience in establishing those "parallels" and identities of characters (for example, Titivillus with his net and bag in *Mankind*). Diehl also comments that "a character's physical appearance [and presumably costume] may also be iconographically significant, inner essence manifested in outer features". This occurs, for example, in a worldly man being portrayed as stout or a virtuous woman in a plain garment.[70]

The origin of the appearance of the actual costumes and of the production is a current area of dispute. The relationship between drama and visual art is unclear, particularly in connection with influences. Did costume, gesture, theatrical set and many other aspects of medieval play productions of this time derive from contemporary visual art or did those artists take their visual cues from dramatic performance? Such well-respected authors as W. L. Hildenburg, Ann Eljinholm Nichols, Emile Mâle and M. D. Anderson have participated in this debate and the majority of dramatic commentators appears to favour the argument that drama influenced art.[71] Mâle argues that prominent changes in religious

---

67 Williams, p.11.

68 Williams, p.10. See Williams for further information concerning symbolism and allegory.

69 Diehl, p.199.

70 Diehl, p.199.

71 W.L. Hildenburg, 'English Alabaster Carvings as Records of the Medieval Religious Drama', *Archaeologia,* Vol. 93, 1949, p.51. Ann Eljenholm Nichols, 'Costume in the Moralities: The Evidence of East Anglian Art', *Comparative Drama* , Vol.20, 1986-87, pp.305-314. Emile Mâle,'Le Renouvellement de l'art par les 'Mystères' a la Fin de Moyen Age', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* Vol 31, 1904, p.96 and M. D. Anderson, *History and Imagery in British Churches,* John Murray, London, 1971, pp.156-7.

art could be traced back to medieval theatre. Hildenburg, in 1939, commented that "the idea long since accepted, that alabaster-carvers ... depicted in their reliefs things that they had seen in presentations of religious plays ... has, I believe not seriously been questioned".[72] Nichols deals with East Anglian art and comments that the gallants in the Macro plays would provide "a plausible source for the unusual detail on the Walsingham font" of Little Walsingham Church.[73] She has written in detail about this font which features a young man dressed in highly fashionable clothing, a gallant who features a costume with dagged sleeves and I am assuming that she is relating this gallant to those sinning young men in the morality plays. Pamela Sheingorn and Bevington both refuse to endorse one theory over another but maintain that, since both art and drama share a similar iconography derived from the same original basic message, precedence may not be considered an issue here as "Our interest is not so much in asking which art form influenced the other - indeed, the very degree of proximity argues the likelihood of mutuality - as in the insight afforded concerning the nature of the genre".[74] I believe that it would be foolish to favour one argument over the other as the material used in evidence by many of the above theorists could lend itself to either theory of precedence. Further, I believe that each piece of art must be individually assessed as to its relationship with drama. Even then, with the lack of information concerning the actual authors of these plays, I believe that it is impossible to assess whether they would have been in the position to have been influenced by a particular piece of art, or indeed, whether a particular craftsman would have been in the position to have seen a particular play. While generalized information may be determined from the play in regard to its date and provenance, this date and provenance must always remain indefinite due to the possibility that the play text may have been a later version, copied for use by another acting

---

72 Hildenburg, p.51.

73 Ann Eljenholm Nichols, pp.305-314. Nichols discusses this font but does not reproduce it or give any further details of its location.

74 P. Sheingorn, and D. Bevington, '"Alle This Was Token Domysday to Drede": Visual Signs of Last Judgement in the Corpus Christi Cycles and in Late Gothic Art' in David Bevington (ed.), *'"Homo Memento Finis": The Iconography of Just Judgement in Mediæval Art and Drama'*, Kalamazoo, Mediæval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1985, p.124.

company or group. I believe further that it is possible for an enthusiastic theorist to judiciously select certain artworks which support that individual's argument and that there are sufficient examples of art influencing drama and drama influencing art to argue for either proposition. Like Sheingorn and Bevington, I too will not enter the debate but do acknowledge the close relationship existing between art and drama. For this reason I will use pictorial evidence as well as texts (wills, records and the texts themselves) in the establishment of my theories concerning the Macro plays and their costuming practices being a visual commentary on social change.

The argument of this thesis, that social concerns were being illustrated through the costuming of the Macro plays, is based on the theories expressed by Thorstein Veblen in his *The Theory of the Leisure Class.*[75] These theories, written at the turn of this century, basically argue that economic competition and the ensuing social confusion are the principal force behind changes in fashion. Veblen proposed that fashion for the leisured class, those who were able to follow the vicissitudes of fashion, could be motivated by the idea of conspicuous consumption, conspicuous waste and conspicuous leisure. The purpose of conspicuous consumption is simply to show personal importance by the possession of a multitude of costumes or even a layering of costumes, not for warmth but for display. A clear example of this practice occurs in church vestments. The monks and nuns wore simple base-colour, one piece habits. If a brother became a priest, his vestments were changed to that of an alb and a cope. When officiating at mass, an amice or hood and chasuble, a type of sleeveless robe, was added. Priests higher in rank added a dalmatic, a wide-sleeved, slit-sided loose long robe. Still higher, the tunicle was also adopted by the deacon and sub-deacon. A bishop, officiating at mass also wore a stole. In addition to this, the bishop, to prevent his hands touching anything sacred, wore gloves. He also sported a mitre, crosier and ring, known collectively as "pontificals" (Fig.5). [76]

---

75 T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Random House, New York, 1934.

76 P. A. Bucknell, *Entertainment and Ritual,* Stainer & Bell, London, 1969, pp.35-36.

Fig. 5 'An Archbishop', *Westminster Psalter*, c. 1200; rpt. in Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (London: D. T Batsford, 1984) p.44.

In the more secular arena, a King at court might wear a fur-edged and lined cloak, not necessarily for warmth but to demonstrate his wealth and status through conspicuous consumption. It is clear that conspicuous consumption was recognised in medieval society, as the sumptuary laws indicate. These sumptuary laws were an attempt by the leisured class to prevent the newly rich merchants appearing to be part of the upper class, another method of maintaining both the conservative stratification of society and the group mentality.[77]

Conspicuous waste, or consumption to excess, is most obviously illustrated in the use of excessive fabric in the draping and unnecessarily full cut of clothing. Interestingly, conspicuous waste often appears to bestow moral worth on a character. Often angels and biblical characters wear excessively full gowns. This cut, Anne Hollander has argued, has the effect of endowing the character with honour and dignity. She argues that this reaction is achieved because of the relationship of drapery and draped clothing with the draped form of the toga which may be seen in classical art.[78] This effect may be seen in the long, full costumes on the Virtues.

Conspicuous leisure obviously belongs to the leisured class. Conspicuous leisure in dress may be easily identified by the wearing of a garment that induces in the wearer the inability to perform any physical, laborious task. This is evident in the clothing in high fashion at the time of the Macro plays. The crackows, or shoes mentioned in *The Castle of Perseverance* at the turn of the fourteenth century had reached a measurement of 12-16 inches beyond the toe and had, as an aid for walking, to be chained to a garter situated just below the knee.[79] Bag sleeves, where the breadth of the sleeve was as great as the hem of the tunic, were also fashionable. This fashion advertised that the wearer was not

---

77 Sumptuary laws, their origin and purpose will be described in more detail in the following chapters.

78 Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes,* Avon Books, New York, 1975, p.38.

79 C. Bradley, *A History of World Costume*, Peter Owen Ltd, London, 1955, p.150.

only unable to work, or indeed to lower the arms lest the hands were totally enveloped, but also wealthy, being a practitioner of conspicuous waste. The chaperon, which was originally formed from the folding and rolling of fabric around the head, was also highly inefficient and impractical; however, it had the benefit of informing the world that the wearer need not do manual labour. The women were similarly categorised, being adorned with heavily draped gowns and often preposterously high steeple headdresses.

Veblen's theories have had many advocates in the sociological field. Authors such as Alison Lurie, Marjory Garber, Anne Hollander, Quentin Bell and John C. Flügel have made extensive, and largely unaltered, use of Veblen's theories, while George Bush and Perry London have commented that "changes in fundamental modes of dress indicate changes in the social rules and self concepts of members of that society".[80] It is to be expected, therefore, that such a change in the social rules occurring after the breaking up of the feudal system and the ensuing disorder would have caused great changes in the fashions of the time. The rise of individualism (and the concept of "self") would also have been expected to have caused some change in dress at this time. The clothing would become more individual. Idiosyncrasies may also have emerged and fashion, in one form or another, may have become as important for the working class as for the upper class.

It may be beneficial, therefore, to consider next whether there had been any vast changes in costuming prior to the changes in society (that began in the mid-1300s) and then review the fashion from the period immediately following these changes. The evidence for the usage of fashionable clothing in theatrical costume will then be considered and, finally, the social changes occurring prior to the time of the Macro plays will be discussed in more detail.

---

80 G. Bush and P. London, 'On the disappearance of Knickers: Hypothesis for the Functional analysis of the Psychology of Clothing', *Journal of Social Psychology,* Vol. 51, May 1960, pp.359-66. Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes,* Bloomsbury Publishing, London, 1981. Quentin Bell, *On Human Finery,* Schocken Books, New York, 1976. J.C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes,* International Universities Press, New York, 1971. Marjory Garber, *Vested Interests,* Routledge, New York, 1992. Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes,* details in footnote 81.

Mankind, while the shortest of the three Macro plays, contains the greatest amount of detail concerning the appearance of fashionable costume. Much of the evidence for the costuming in this play occurs during the antics and, often ribald, dialogue of the Vices and Mankind. In this play, we have a graphic illustration of the comparison of the long gown, representing high morals, and the short tunic, which represented immorality. From the mid-fourteenth century, the time of the Black Death, men's fashion changed radically, becoming progressively more revealing.[81] Dagging (also recommended in *Mankind*) was at its height.[82] It was shortly after this period that the practice of dagging the fabric declined, yet it is interesting to note it was still considered by *Mankind's* author to be associated with the worst of fashion's excesses, as indicated by the advocacy of the Vices. The tunic, for both men and women, became, during the late fourteenth century, fitted from the shoulder to the hip.

Newton has argued that these changes began to occur in the early 1340s, early in the reign of Edward III and his fight for the French throne. She argues that the changes in fashion, especially in regard to the shape of the garments, occurred at this time, basing her argument on comparisons of altar-pieces, manuscript paintings and sculptures. She believes that it "would be foolish to ascribe this change ... to a development or a series of developments in the political or cultural situation, though both may have played their parts", since the evidence she has gathered indicates that the participants themselves were uncertain as to the origin of this change.[83] I believe, however, that it is of interest to trace these influences. Furthermore, I believe that it was the Black Death and the subsequent social changes that initiated the rise of individualism. This caused the outrageous fashions that began in the mid-1300s. These developed to such an extent that certain of their features, such as crackows and the practice of dagging, were highlighted by the authors of the Macro plays.

---

81 See *The Castle of Perseverance* chapter, p.107-108 and the *Mankind* chapter for the changes that occurred in fashion and contemporary reaction to those changes.

82 See evidence from pp. 10-11 of this chapter.

83 Mary Stella Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340-1365*, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1980, p.2.

Fashion was the reinforcement for the audience of the Vices' absorption with things of a material nature. Veblen argues that fashion and change are consequences of social disruption and the period prior to the writing of *The Castle of Perseverance* experienced many major disruptions. The greatest of these was the Black Death which signalled the end of the feudal system and impacted on the economy. Agricultural practices changed from crops to sheep farming. The new wool industry brought new wealth, especially to the merchants, and social mobility.

The growth of the merchant class is a major example of social mobility and the rejection of God's ordering of social stratification and yet the merchants, who did not produce goods themselves, still became enough of a financial power to cause the ruling class to protect themselves and their status by the creation of a number of sumptuary laws. The merchants, as a class, did not appear to suffer damnation for rejecting God's divine social order; indeed many made substantial gains, and, with the schism causing consternation and questioning of divine authority, the environment of change would have been appropriate for individuality to find favour with many.

Individuality, in the form of social mobility, is apparent in *The Castle of Perseverance.* In this play the main character not only represents the universal condition of humanity, entering the world naked, but is born into a lowly station: "Bare and pore is my clothynge ... Certys I haue no more" (293, 296). Nearly immediately Malus Angelus is tempting Humanum Genus to leave the life of "pouert[y]" (352), the life led by Christ, and improve his social station by coming into "þe Werdys seruyse/ To dwelle wyth caysere, kynge, and knyth" (342-3) and wear "gret aray" (377). Within eighty lines the audience has had the relationship between personal social change, moral change and costume change established.

The relationship between change and an immoral outlook is very obvious in *Mankind*, as the names of the Vices, Nought, Nowadays

and New Guise, indicate. New Guise shows this in his rude speech, "[this] ys þe new gyse and þe new jett" (103). While it is possible to deduce at this point that the Vices, to live up to their names, are wearing fashionable clothing, the link between fashion, costume change and immorality is made more explicit with the changing costume of Mankind.[84] Mankind is enjoined by Mercy to be with God, "I prey yow be hys seruante" (280). When Mankind prays that "Euery man for hys degre" (190) should consider God's word, the author is perhaps using this phrase to stress the social classes of the people. The link between God and Mankind's statement may be seen as a re-affirmation that God had placed His people in the different classes and there they were intended to stay.

Costuming plays a major role in *Wisdom* as the wealth of detail in the production notes testifies. The play begins with Anima and God. Anima and her aspects, Mind, Will and Understanding, change their social rank, with the Mights leaving the clergy, becoming worldly and, therefore, taking the relevant costumes. Mind becomes Mayntennance, with six warriors carrying staves to represent him. Understanding becomes Perjury and is joined by six dancers, dressed as jurors, carrying bags in which to hold their bribes. They, therefore, represent the evil side of law. Will is flanked by gallants and masked women representing social immoralities such as "Idyllnes" and "Fornycacyon", for example. It is interesting to note that again fashion plays an important part as an indicator of high immorality: Lucifer disguises himself in *Wisdom* as a gallant, a stereotyped and popular character of evil and folly throughout many medieval plays.

The following chapter will survey what is generally accepted by commentators on medieval drama, particularly in the areas of the history and origin of the morality play, the actor and acting style, the audience and costume. In the subsequent chapters, I will explore the question of the costumes in the plays more fully, elaborating on the points raised in this introduction, in order to ascertain the extent to which costumes were being influenced by social change and the place of the individual within these changes.

---

[84] These changes will be discussed in more detail in the chapter dealing with *Mankind.*

CHAPTER 2

MORALITY PLAYS: ORIGINS AND PERFORMANCE/ PRODUCTION

This background chapter is written with the intention of providing a summary of the current research of scholars in relation to medieval drama, focusing on the morality plays. The chapter will cover the origin of the morality play, actors, acting style, the audience and costume.

The origins of the morality play

The origins of the morality plays are obscure, or at least so it appears to the modern researcher who must contend with a lack of existing evidence. One method which has been used to overcome this deficit is to consider other plays. As all drama at this time, as far as we are aware, had a common purpose in educating the people in religious matters, presumably all plays would have used the same iconography. The iconographic message would be weakened for the audience if there were conflicting visual images being presented in different productions. It is possible that the same actors, producers and costumes were used for all the various play types.

The various medieval plays types may be categorized into one of five categories. Tydeman has divided them thus: 1) "Plays of a generally biblical character which form no part of a longer series of related pieces"; 2) Saints plays; 3) plays dedicated to the performance of miracles; 4) "sequences of cyclic episodes depicting the Christian view of Mankind's salvation through Christ and covering a span stretching 'from Creation to Doomsday'", also known as Corpus Christi Cycle plays and 5) morality plays.[1]

These types may all be seen to have a common origin in church practice. A cursory assessment of the remnants of the *Sarum Breviary* will provide many examples of the theatricality of the

---

1 William Tydeman, *English Medieval Theatre 1400-1500*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1986, p.9.

Christian religious service.[2] There are many similarities between the theatre and a church service, as Karl Young indicates.[3] For example, the chanting of a chorus and congregational response are similar to that of actors and their audience. Antiphonals and responsive pieces in church services may be compared to theatrical dialogue. In church services there are special vestments, and in the theatre, costumes. Processions may be observed in plays such as *Wisdom,* as well as in the church. All of these indicate a relationship between the Church service and drama. One of the earliest forms of religious drama, from about the tenth century, is the *Quem Quaeritis*, a portion of the liturgy, so named because "Quem Quaeritis" are the first words of the dialogue. One *Quem Quaeritis*, from St Martial of Limoges has the dialogue for the words spoken to Christ immediately upon his resurrection. This liturgical drama, with action and costume described, is the earliest of the liturgical pieces surviving and was performed, appropriately enough, at Easter.[4] Young disagrees that play-like elements in liturgy can be called drama, because in drama "the essential element is not forms of speech and movement, but *impersonation.*"[5] He argues that in liturgy, there is no intention to impersonate a character, merely to represent them. This argument is, of course, difficult to judge. It is known that the actors were dressed in a particular way (albeit in vestments) but there is no evidence to suggest that they affected certain representational voices, such as for women.[6] In order to impersonate a character, some attempt must have been made to "resemble him [the chosen character], or at least show [the impersonator's] intention of doing so."[7] Young does not consider that any of the liturgy was dramatic, arguing rather that drama may have emerged from several special ceremonies in the Holy Week including the "procession of Palm Sunday, the

---

2 Some of these remnants, reproductions of certain of the old Latin liturgies and services, may be found in Francis Procter, *A History of the Book of Common Prayer,* 17th ed., Macmillan & Co., London, 1884.

3 Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church,* (2 vols.), The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1933.

4 Bibliothèque Nationale Lat., ms. 1240, f.306 quoted in Chambers,*The Mediaeval Stage,* Vol II, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1903, p.10.

5 Young, p. 80.

6 See pages 37-38 for more details.

7 Young, p.80.

Mandatum of Holy Thursday or the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday" and the ceremony of the Boy Bishop which "includes elements of ... pantomime."[8]

Although it is generally believed that the different types of plays came from a common origin, the *Quem Quaeritis* and liturgical drama (despite Young's work), the link between this early religious drama and morality plays has been interpreted differently by various scholars. Some see the line of development as leading directly from early religious drama to morality plays. These scholars rely on a reference from Wycliffe from about 1378 which may indicate an early morality play: "& herfore freris han tauȝt in Englond þe Paternoster in Engliȝcsh tunge, as men seyen in þe playe of Yorke".[9] A particular play, now no longer extant, which has become known as the Pater Noster play and to which Wycliffe may be alluding, illustrated the goodness of virtuous characters and the sin of the Vices: "quam plura vicia & peccata reprobantur & virtues commendantur."[10] This play was last performed just after June 2, 1572 and on July 30, the Archbishop of York, Grindal, demanded that the play be submitted to him: "my ... Lorde Mayour declared to [the] worshipfull assemblee that my Lord Archebisshop of York requested to haue a Copie of the bookes of the Pater noster play".[11] Despite a request for its return three years later, in July of 1575, it was not heard of again.[12]

Bevington sees the Pater Noster play as important in the development of morality plays, but argues that there are a number of similarities between the Corpus Christi Cycle plays, the Saints plays and the morality plays, such as the use of allegory, the comedy of evil, the use of scaffolding and the plot. He comments that allegory was a technique not unique to the morality play genre

---

8 Young, p.110.

9 F. D. Matthew (ed.), *De Officio Pastorali*, E.E.T.S, Cap. XV, Millwood, New York, Kraus Reprint.

10 A.F. Johnston and M. Rogerson (ed.), *York*, R.E.E.D., University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1979, p.645.

11 A.F. Johnston and M. Rogerson (ed.), *York*, p.368.

12 Lucy Toulmin Smith (ed.), *York Plays*, Russell and Russell, New York, 1885, p. xxix.

but one that extended over all forms of literature at that time. Personification is not only to be found in the morality plays but also in the N-town cycle's *The Death of Herod* and the Saints play of *Mary Magdalene,* where, for example, there are "kyngs of the world and the Church", and the Seven Deadly Sins, a good angel and a bad angel. The morality play, *The Castle of Perseverance,* shares the Four Daughters of God with the N-Town pageant on the Parliament of Heaven. Bevington believes that the comedy of evil or the humour felt by the audience at the foolery of the Vices of the morality plays is shared with other medieval plays. He comments that the staging of the morality plays is similar to that of other medieval drama in their use of scaffolding for a play area and argues that the stories of Adam's Fall through to Christ's redemption are compressed into a single play in the morality, indicating, through the plot, a firm relationship between the types of plays. While the point of teaching was the same for all of the medieval plays, the focus altered to suit the author's purpose. The action of the cycle plays concerns long-dead biblical characters. Morality plays iconographically represent each of the individual audience members. Bevington argues that while the similarities between the various types of play are strong, the main difference between the morality play and its contemporaries is one of focus. While the Saints play focuses on an individual, this individual being a "historical" personage, the central character of the morality play purports to represent all of Mankind.

Owst's research has allowed him to claim that "the medieval pulpit is a long-forgotten foster-mother [of drama]" and Bevington, in his article "Discontinuity in Mediaeval Acting Traditions", agrees with the seemingly throw-away line that "the morality play ... seems to have derived much of its thematic content and approach to characterization from medieval sermons".[13] Tydeman also repeated this theory, without reference to prior sources: "it is equally possible that [the morality plays'] source was not dramatic but rather to be found in the medieval sermon, with its graphic imagery

---

13 G.R. Owst, *Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1933, p.547 and David Bevington, "Discontinuity in Medieval Acting Traditions", *Elizabethan Theatre V,* G.R. Hibbard (ed.), MacMillan Company of Canada, 1975, p.3.

and its penchant for illustrating doctrinal points through illuminating anecdotes or *exempla.*"[14]

It is not universally accepted that morality plays evolved from liturgical drama via the Pater Noster play. Richard Southern argues that morality plays evolved from Mummers' plays, a form of drama that was part play, part dance, and in which, despite the regional varieties, the same characters and storyline always appear. The common incident is always the death and resurrection, usually by the Doctor, of one of the characters. Southern hypothesizes that the morality play is descended from the Mummers' play as they both used similar acting areas. It was known that travelling Mummers were invited to perform indoors during Christmas revelries and Southern believes that certain of the morality plays may therefore also have been performed indoors. He argues that Quincy Adams and others are wrong in believing *Mankind* to have been acted in an inn yard. This is based on line 725 where New-Guise calls to an ostler to supply him with a football and on line 29, which indicates that the ranks of the audience were diverse: "O ȝe souerens þat sytt and ȝe brothern þat stonde ryght wppe", these seating arrangements indicating formal (indoor) seating. Southern believes that various textual references indicate that the production took place at night: "I prey Gode gyf yow goode nyght!" (161), in winter (54) and inside: "Here ys þe dore, her ys þe wey" (159). Southern feels that he clinches the argument with the quotation: "At þe goodeman of þis house fyrst we wyll assay./ Gode blysse yow, master!..." (467-8), as supposedly an inn keeper "could not be so addressed in precedence over his guests".[15] While Southern believes that there is sufficient proof that *Mankind* was acted inside, I believe that his argument concerning the evolution of the morality plays from Mummer's plays, based solely on the fact that both were performed inside, is inadequate.

---

[14] Tydeman, *English Medieval Theatre,* p.16.

[15] Richard Southern, *The Staging of Plays before Shakespeare,* Faber and Faber, London, 1973, p.34. Joseph Quincy Adams (ed.), *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas,* Houghton and Mifflin, Boston, 1924, p.304.

Wickham believes there was a union between Mummers' plays and religious plays that resulted in the emergence of the Interlude (which may, in turn, have developed into the morality play), a term used to describe the short plays performed between banquet courses or more formal plays. This term was occasionally used in the fourteenth century, but more frequently in the fifteenth century. He claims that Mummers were professional "lusores" and "histriones" and with their joining, "The stage of social recreation [Mumming] acquired dialogue. The religious stage acquired the assistance of a section of the minstrel troupe, lusores and histriones, in English, professional actors".[16]

Despite this array of theories, it is apparent that the majority of scholars believe that the morality play was either a development from earlier religious plays, or was an amalgam of a variety of drama types. This survey of the theories of the origins of the morality play indicates that there is not sufficient evidence to pin-point a definitive origin. While the final answer to the origin of the morality play is not necessary for the purposes of this thesis, it is necessary to know that morality plays were related to the other types of drama through a similar purpose and iconography. This knowledge will allow us to consider, with caution, the evidence of the other religious plays of the time, especially in regard to costuming, to supplement what evidence there is in the morality plays.

16 Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages: 1300-1660,* Vol 1, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1981, p.235.

Mediaeval Actors

Speculation about medieval actors bears heavily on the nature of costuming in productions. If the cast did not tour, as for example with a guild production, costumes could be put into storage between productions and might therefore have been part of an extensive wardrobe. If the cast were itinerant, or touring, players, the number of articles of clothing would have had to be limited but versatile.

There are many divergent theories about the status of actors in the medieval world and unfortunately what evidence is available is scanty. Records of European productions are more numerous than those of England. Tydeman has produced a historical overview of performers between 800 and 1576.[17] He relates, in summary, that while the terms "histriones", "mimes" and "joculators" were used to describe the players of various types of theatrical production, each being accorded various levels of respect (for example a histrione was a talented professional whereas a joculator was little more than a vagrant), the terms did not always have a single standard meaning and were often used interchangeably. A player described as a "mime" might have been regarded with high respect for his artistry or might have been considered to be little better than a vagabond. Many of the European actors were clerics, even during the fifteenth century. In England, Tydeman argues, this practice appears but is more restricted (although this may, he feels, be due to lost records). The "Early Banns" of Chester record a play being "set forth" for the Corpus Christi feast by the local clergy.[18] As Tydeman has commented, however, there is no indication whether this was merely a tableau or a full dramatic presentation, the implication being that a member of the clergy may have been more likely, with regard to his dignity, to have taken a role in a tableau.[19]

---

17 William Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1978, pp.184-221.

18 Deimling, H. (ed.), *The Chester Plays*, E.E.T.S. Extra Series 62, Oxford University Press, London, 1959, from line 10, p.2.

19 Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages,* p.197.

Wickham also believes that the clergy acted in medieval plays. He argues that it was not acting that the church authorities disliked but rather the actors themselves since "those Christians responsible for Ecclesiastical discipline had small chance of being anything but critical in their attitude to actors whose performance directly stimulated the taste for the more profane aspects of [pre-Christian] festivals".[20] He theorises that those who took part in liturgical drama were not seen to have committed profanity by their acting, presumably because they acted in Church-authorized drama. In early liturgical drama, clerical actors would also have worn their own vestments (as mentioned above), whether they were acting in male or female roles.[21] Wickham does not supply evidence to support his theory and does not consider it in relation to the injunction in *Deuteronomy* 22.5 against cross-dressing: "the woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment; for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God". The *Deuteronomy* injunction would have been relevant in later plays such as in the Macro plays where men did wear female garments (presuming that males took female roles). It would be interesting to hypothesize that in these plays virtuous "women" were dressed in clerical vestments to avoid transgressing *Deuteronomy* while Vice female characters were in contemporary, authentic women's clothes. In this way, another level of meaning could have been added to the iconography of the plays. As the participants in the *Quem Quaeritis* were considered to be taking part in a recognised church service, the clerics representing the Marys remained in their albs and copes to play the womens' parts, again thus avoiding any transgression of *Deuteronomy*. It is known that the clerical participants retained their vestments as this occurred in one of the services as recorded in the *Regularis Concordia of St Ethelworld,* which were the rules pertaining to the Benedictine practices of the tenth century;

> Dum tertia recitatur lectio quatuor fratres induant se, quorum unus alba indutus ac si ad aliud agendum ingrediatur atque latenter sepulchri locum adeat, ibique manu tenens

---

20 Wickham, *Early English Stages ...*,:p.263.

21 Wickham, *Early English Stages ...*,:p.265.

palmam quietus sedeat. Dumque tertium percelebratur responsorium residui tres succedant, omnes quidem cappis induti turribula cum incensu manibus gestantes ac pedetemptim ad similitudinem querentium quid veriant ante locum sepulchri. Aguntur enim haec ad imitationem angeli sedentis in monumento atque mulierum cum aromatibus venientium ut ungerent corpus Ihesu.[22]

Men here are playing the parts of women, yet avoiding the biblical injunctions by remaining in their (masculine/unisexual) vestments.

Bevington does not agree with Wickham's theories of clerical actors. He traces the history of clerics as actors from the tenth century when the *Quem Quaeritis* first appeared and concludes that although there is, of course, evidence to support the claim that clerics did play specific characters in liturgical ceremonies, this evidence does not substantiate the general practice of clerics acting, particularly after the main period of liturgical drama (during the twelfth century). He summarises this sector of the acting profession as "clerical attempts at acting". Wickham's theories are somewhat tenuously supported by a reference in the Cambridge records which show that there were still members of the clergy acting in 1615, at least privately within their universities, and so, perhaps, there was a continuous tradition of clerical acting. In April of that year, the king intended to go to Cambridge to see two plays, but was unable to fulfil this intention. He therefore "made a motion to have the actors come hither [to London], which wilbe a difficult thing to priswade [some] of them being preachers and bachelors of Diuin[ity] to become players any where but in the vniuersi[ty] which was incongruitie enough, and wherto the O[x]ford men tooke iust exception."[23] Bevington does feel that clerics did not act in the more public of the religious plays. He states, without elaboration, that some Church members, such as "Gerhoh of Reichersberg, Herrad of Landsberg, William of

---

22 Cotton ms. Tiberius A. III, fol. 1020-1030, translated and reproduced by Chambers, p.15 and p.309. "While the third lesson is being chanted, let four brethren vest themselves. Let one of these, vested in an alb, enter as though to take part in the service... let the remaining three follow, and let them all, vested in copes, bearing in their hands thuribles with incense... approach the sepulchre. These things are done in imitation of three angels sitting in the monument, and the women with spices coming to anoint the body of Jesus".

23 Alan Nelson (ed) *Cambridge.* University of Toronto Press. Toronto. 1989. p. 541.

Waddington and Robert Mannyng of Brunne were most fearful" and "distinctly uneasy at the prospect of clerical acting".[24] Bevington believes that it was this stand-off between Church officials and the acting clerics that caused the near cessation of the public drama and that "the situation remained stymied for well over a century until the craft guilds of the fourteenth century were able to propound their striking new solution of non-clerical actors in religious plays".[25] Wickham argues the use of clerical actors, first in liturgical drama, then in secular, albeit private, school drama (drama performed outside the church grounds but still sanctioned by the church) indicates the clergy were responsible for the development of secular drama from Church plays. Bevington, on the other hand, believes that the clerics are receiving too much credit and there was a discontinuity between liturgical and early church drama and later religious drama.

Bevington (as mentioned above) credits the guilds with playing a large part in the development of the first religious theatre, by having it reinstated with non-clerical actors and then secular theatre. They were able to do this because these institutions, with their secured audience, were more free to develop and explore their art than the minstrels or those entertainers attached to private establishments, who had to satisfy their patrons. Wickham argues that the growing popularity of public drama caused entertainers by the end of the fifteenth century to denote themselves as actors, relegating the term "minstrel" to the musicians only.[26] Both Bevington and Wickham believe that many professional actors called themselves minstrels or troubadours so there may have been a much larger number of professional actors than has previously been believed.

Wickham seems, therefore, to believe that there were certainly professional (non-clerical) actors in the fifteenth century, even though they may not have advertised themselves as such. He

---

24 Bevington, *Discontinuity...*, p.5, unfortunately does not expound upon this unease or his actual references but he does say that one play that may have caused this fearfulness was the play of *Adam*.

25 Bevington, *Discontinuity...*, p.5.

26 Wickham, *Early English Stages ...*,:p.268.

believes that the professional actors had a touring circuit and that while they may have been required to attend their patrons at the major annual events (The Twelve Days of Christmas, Easter and Shrovetide), at other times they had a "pre-ordained route through the countryside for the rest of the year".[27] He relates that companies presented their credentials to the Mayor of the visited town, gave him a private performance and "subsequent ones at his discretion". Wickham bases this theory on various records of payments made to James Burbage in 1577-8, and to Lord Leicester's players and a letter by Edward Alleyn to his wife in which Alleyn describes his touring appointments. This letter (despite not being written until 1593) and Wickham's other cited references, may, somewhat tenuously, indicate an earlier practice.[28]

It is generally accepted by most critics that there were professional actors during the fifteenth century. Bevington claims that "A significant new development in the casting of Corpus Christi drama was the use not only of lay actors but of professional actors".[29] Bevington does not supply any evidence to accompany this statement, but continues, "Some of the many payments made to actors in guilds and municipal records were for amateur performance by local guild members, of course", and it may be that his evidence is the references given in a number of the guild records. He does not indicate his method of differentiating between a paid amateur and a professional. Bevington also argues that professionalism in acting would be encouraged by "fixed-location acting" as "Performance of this sort employed one actor for a major role throughout a sequence rather than providing a new actor for each individual segment".[30] The small number of players required for fixed location staging is in contrast to the large number required to play each character as it recurs in processional style staging. The York cycle would require a total of twenty-seven Christs, for example, if not staged in a fixed location and it is therefore more likely, Bevington feels, that a single Christ was

---

27 Wickham, *Early English Stages ...*,:p.269.

28 This letter is reproduced by Wickham, *Early English Stages ...*,:p.270.

29 Bevington, *Discontinuity...*, pp. 12-13.

30 Bevington, *Discontinuity...*, p. 13.

hired and paid by the organizing body of the productions. (The majority of evidence indicates, however, that the York cycle used processional staging.) The Wakefield cycle would require a total cast of 243 actors, a number beyond the capabilities of Wakefield. Bevington therefore feels that it would have been more efficient to have one professional cast. Whilst this may actually be more efficient, there does not appear to be any substantial evidence to support this claim. Cameron and Kahrl argue that the Cordwainers of Lincoln "evidently provided three men as shepherds for their Nativity sequence, but paid 'the plaiers' for more substantial parts". For example, the 1532 guild records for the Cordwainers' expenses included the following entries: "It. paid in expenses for the plaiers ijd. It. paid to the plaiers above all that was gathered vijd".[31] Presumably the three shepherds were not paid as they were members, but outsiders, or those with continuing roles (such as the actor playing Mary) did receive payment. Tydeman, in *English Medieval Theatre,* agrees and repeats Bevington's suppositions.[32] In Tydeman's other work, *Theatre in the Middle Ages,* he modifies this by commenting that often players were not professionals with permanent employment, as many were simply hired, to act, from other guilds.[33]

The guilds in large towns in England played a major part in many of the cycle, as well as other plays. It is generally believed that some of those participating in the dramatic performances would have been professional. The musicians, for example, would perhaps have been trained performers. These performers would, in all probability, have been attached to either a church or a nobleman's household, as this would have been the only real place of permanent employment available. It is likely that any work required, such as the making or refurbishing of costumes, would also have been carried out by a professional dressmaker or one known to have expertise at devising properties such as angels' wings or devils' shoes. As these were specialist items of costume, they would have

---

31 K. Cameron and S.J. Kahrl, "Staging the N-Town Cycle", *Theatre Notebook 21,* Spring 1967, p.133 who quote from the Lincoln Cordwainers accounts documented in Hardin Craig, *The Lincoln Cordwainers' Pageant,* PMLA, Vol. 32, 1917, 605-615.

32 Tydeman, *English Medieval Theatre,* p.187.

33 Tydeman, *Theatre in the Middle Ages,* p.196.

had to have been commissioned. The wealthier guilds would have been able to afford these specialists, along with the hiring of players to perform. Cycle plays are religious in nature and the timing of their production was traditional, either at Corpus Christi or Whitsun. Since the texts of the morality plays are not focussed on any part of the religious calendar, it would be possible to perform them at any time of the year. Hypothetically, it is unlikely, however, that the audience would be very large during the dark winter months, as the weather would possibly be inclement and return travel, even for a short distance, difficult. For these reasons, it is probable that morality plays would also be seasonal, with the performers having employment elsewhere for the majority of the year. This employment could be in a number of fields, as players were not taken from a single social class. In Chaucer's "The Miller's Tale", Absolon is a parish clerk and a Cycle play actor: "somtyme, to shewe his lightnesse and maistrye, he pleyeth Herodes upon a scaffold hye" (3383-4).[34] Parish clerks also performed at Clerkenwell in London in 1384. They played again in 1390 for Richard II. Records also survive relating performances in 1391, 1393 and 1409.[35]

Many authors also believe that there were touring companies of actors, even as early as *The Castle of Perseverance* (1400-1425). Bevington indicates that *The Castle of Perseverance* was for touring as "its famous staging design calls for a surrounded moat or fence, depending on local circumstances".[36] Richard Proudfoot agrees that this play is for touring: "the blank space in line 134 ["At ... on þe grene in ryal aray"] is evidently intended to accommodate the name of the proposed place of performance", but is surprised by the fact that the cast has twenty-seven members even when doubling is utilized.[37]

---

34 All references to Chaucer will be from Larry D. Benson (ed.),*The Riverside Chaucer,* 3rd edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1987.

35 W.O. Hassall, 'Plays at Clerkenwell', *Modern Language Review*, Vol. 33, 1938, pp.564-7.

36 Bevington, *Discontinuity...*, p.15.

37 Richard Proudfoot, "The Virtue of Perseverance", in *Aspects of Early English Drama,* Paula Neuss (ed.), D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 1983, p. 103.

The N-Town Cycle, either the play or the text only, was intended for touring as indicated by the banns, which tell that "N" is to be replaced by the name of the town in which the cycle was to appear. While Bevington concedes that the cast of this production must have been large, he believes that touring was attempted, as indicated above. Alan J. Fletcher has discussed however, in great detail, how the text of these plays may have been transcribed from a variety of versions of the plays. These different versions of the cycle plays probably came about from the cycle being acted under different producers and in different locales. It is possible, therefore, that it was not an acting company that toured but rather the script of the cycle itself. This would explain why the large cast would not prevent the cycle from touring.[38] In his *Medieval Plays,* Bevington also claims that there were "itinerant troupes, like the small company that had acted *Mankind* for pence and half-pence at a public inn. These troupes also took their plays, on occasion, to noble households and to court".[39]

I have not been able to find any firm evidence for acting troupes existing at the time of *The Macro Plays,* even though there is evidence of single actors in the cycle plays being paid (as mentioned above). While there is no substantial evidence of acting troupes, it is possible that boy actors, if not in professional companies, but perhaps part of school productions, acted the Macro plays. This is very probably what occurred in at least one production of *Wisdom* since the surviving text has the name "Rainold Wodles" in schoolboy cipher in the margins.[40] Possibly Rainold Wodles was a professional boy actor. Generally speaking, the term "boy actor" is difficult, particularly , as Bevington notes, the age of the boys is not known.[41] The boy actor in a medieval play may be an apprentice or young man. For example, the Smith's Company in 1496 paid "Ryngolds man Thomas [to play] pylatts

---

[38] Peter Meredith, 'The Towneley Cycle' and Alan J. Fletcher, 'The N-Town Plays' in Richard Beadle, *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Theatre,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994, pp.134-188.

[39] Bevington, *Discontinuity...,* p. 795.

[40] See David Eccles, *The Macro Plays,* E.E.T.S 262, Oxford University Press, London, 1969, p. xxviii for the various folios that this appeared in.

[41] Bevington, *Discontinuity...,* p.12.

wyff". While there is a possibility that Thomas was not yet a man but a boy, based on the fact that he was immature enough to play a woman, this evidence is very slight.[42] Bevington believes that there were boy actors, but refers to the Townley and York versions of the play of Abraham and Isaac where a man must have played what is generally thought to be a typically boy role. In the York Parchemyners' and Bokebynders' *Play of Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac*, Isaac is, in fact, a fully grown man: "Isaak, þat I loue full wele,/ He is of eelde, to reken right,/ Thyrty 3ere and more sum dele" (80-82).[43] By having Isaac this age, his role as a prefigurement of Christ (both characters having been offered as sacrifice for the people by their fathers) is emphasised. The parts played by boy actors, while often central to the plot, were not demanding roles.[44]

Wickham also believes that boy actors were often used. He quotes a complaint of the St Paul choristers, from 1378, about their competition from "inexpert" players of miracles.[45] While it is possible that this is a reference to boy players, "inexpert" does not necessarily indicate "young". Wickham acknowledges, however, that boys do not figure often in the records of the guilds. The majority of the references to boys are in relation to civic welcomes and mostly relate to the singing and participation in pageantry by boys as in the statement that "Roger, Clerk of St Magnus Church, sang with his boys" in the welcome of London to Queen Elizabeth Woodville in 1464.[46]

While there is a possibility that boy actors may have acted in drama at this time, there is no substantial evidence of professional, boy troupes.

---

[42] R.W. Ingram (ed.), *Coventry* , R.E.E.D, University of Toronto Press, Toronto,1984, p.86.

[43] Toulimin Smith, p.58.

[44] Bevington, *Discontinuity...*, p.12.

[45] Wickham, *Early English Stages* ...,:p.270. St Paul's Choir School regularly performed *The History of the Old and New Testament* at Christmas and came into conflict with the Guild of Parish Clerks (St Nicholas' Guild) who also presented this particular play. Wickham,:p.165.

[46] Wickham, *Early English Stages* ...,:p.271.

One other great area of conjecture is the use of females as actors. The evidence relating to this issue is also inconclusive. While there are a number of records relating to medieval actresses, most female characters, both in England and Europe, are believed, from the lack of substantial evidence to the contrary, to have been played by men. One of the very few possible references to female actors in English productions occurs when the character Early Banns, from a section of an unnamed play recorded in the Chester accounts for 1539-40, mentions "The wurshipffull wyffys of this towne [who were assigned the play] of our Lady thassumpcion".[47] While this is possibly a reference to female actors, it is more likely to be referring to the sponsors rather than the performers. In 1534 women received payment for their performance in the *Pageant of the Lady Mary* for the Lord Mayor's Show: "It(em) to Glenys daughter for thassumpcion and Child(es) eldest daughter for Saynt Ursula & vj virgens w^{t} bothe nyghts aft(er) viiij apece. S(u)ma. v^{s} iiij^{d}".[48] Wickham believes that women played in minstrel shows but unfortunately does not indicate his evidence: "Amongst the professional minstrels, women also had a role to play, usually as dancers".[49] Twycross and Carpenter baldly state that, "As far as the 'women' of Mediaeval drama are concerned, the question does not arise, of course, as they were played by men".[50] Wickham disagrees with the claim, made by many, for example Twycross and Carpenter, that there were no women on stage until 1660. He claims that women took part in tournaments, often as the initiators of the challenge between two knights, as, for example, in the joust between Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy in 1467, and as prize givers.[51] They were also active participants in the, relatively private, performances of the court masques. He argues, that they did appear in public, as dancers and as performers in the Chester play *The Assumption* (as refered to above), but that they were not regular players: "[W]omen made their first appearance on

---

47 L.M. Clopper (ed.), *Chester,* REED, University of Toronto Press, Toronto,1979, p.37.

48 Wickham, *Early English Stages* ...,.p.272.

49 Wickham, *Early English Stages* ...,.p.272.

50 Meg Twycross and Sarah Carpenter, "Masks in Medieval English Theatre: The Mystery plays", *Medieval English Theatre,* Vol. 4, 1982, p.16.

51 Wickham, *Early English Stages* ...,.p. 21.

the British stage in 1660. Baldly stated this is not true: if true at all, it means only that, from then onwards, in professional companies, female parts were regularly played by women".[52] He has found no injunctions or decrees of the Church or state forbidding women to act. He believes that women did not act in "traditional arenas such as halls or the open air" as their voices lacked resonance but that this later changed, presumably when the tiered seating and balconies of theatres made women actors possible, as they allowed women's voices to be heard.[53]

The hiring of the actors, either male or female, often was the duty of the individual town guilds. In Coventry in 1453 Thomas Colclow was recruited as pageant master. "Thomas Colclow skynner ffro this day forth shull have þe Rewle of þe pajaunt unto þe end of xij yers next folowing he for to find þe pleyers and all þat longeth þerto all þe seide terme".[54] York followed a similar practice. The city council's ordinance of 3 April 1476 states:

> þat yerely in þe tyme of lentyn there shall be called afore the Maire for þe tyme beyng iiij of þe moste Connyng discrete and able playeres within þis Citie to serche here and examen all þe plaiers and plaies [and] pagentes thrughoute all þe artificeres belonging to corpus christi Plaie And all suche as þay shall fynde sufficant in personne and Connyng to þe honour of þe Citie and Worship of þe saide Craftes for to admitte and be able and all oþer insufficant personnes either in Connyng, voice or personne to discharge ammove and avoide
> And þat no plaier þat shall plaie in þe saide Corpus christi plaie be conducte and Reteyned to plaie but twise on the day of þe saide playe And þat he or þay so plaing plaie not overe twise the saide day vpon payne of xl s to forfet vnto þe Chaumbre asoften tymes as he or þay shall be founden defautie in þe same.[55]

The major requisites for an actor were therefore felt to be "Connyng, voice" and "personne". As previously stated by Wickham, it may be that the lack of "voice" or resonance was a factor in the

---

52 Wickham, *Early English Stages ...*, p.271.
53 Wickham, *Early English Stages ...*, p.272.
54 R.W. Ingram (ed.), *Coventry*, p.27.
55 A.F. Johnston and M. Rogerson (ed.), *York*, p.109.

absence of women from the stage. The criterion "Connyng" possibly indicates "acting ability".

Acting Style

A further area of debate in medieval drama concerns acting style and the "naturalism" (or "lifelikeness") of medieval performance. Twycross and Carpenter, in their work on masks in the medieval theatre, initially dismiss the debate over the naturalism of the medieval acting style, arguing that the acting style could not be naturalistic if masks were worn. They do concede, however, that "naturalism" and stylistic artifice occur concurrently. For example they claim that the Virgin Mary wears a crown and Christ at the Resurrection a leather body suit, but a real baby is used for the Nativity.[56] This juxtaposition of, by modern standards, what would be natural or expected (such as the baby), and what would not, do not appear to concern the medieval spectator. In *The Second Shepherds' play*, the shepherds move from "naturalistic grumbling to learned exposition ... without any sense of discontinuity".[57] Tydeman believes that the acting style was not naturalistic as the gestures were overdone and "virtually automatic". There is no indication of Tydeman's source for this.

B.L. Joseph, writing about the later Elizabethan period and their acting style, argues that the trend in acting at this period was towards naturalism.[58] He argues that illustrations from this period which show stylistic gestures (such as the wringing of hands to indicate grief) were, in fact, copied from life and used in a naturalistic way on the stage and were not external or unnatural gestures imposed upon the actor by convention.[59] In evidence he repeats contemporary accounts of various actors' work. One example of this is Thomas Randolph who praises the actor Thomas Riley: "When thou dost act, men think it not a play,/ But all they see

---

56 Actual references are not provided.

57 Twycross and Carpenter, p.35.

58 B.L. Joseph, *Elizabethan Acting*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1964, p.1.

59 These illustrations are from John Bulwer's *Chirologia* and *Chironomia* and have been reproduced in Joseph's *Elizabethan Acting*, pp. 50, 52, 54 and 56.

is real".[60] This does not however mean a modern audience would consider the acting to be naturalistic. Given the lack of textual and illustrated contemporary evidence, it is difficult to decide whether the medieval acting style was naturalistic or stylized as what may be considered naturalistic to the medieval theatre goer might seem highly stylized to a modern audience. Naturalism is, therefore, highly subjective. This subjectivity, along with all spheres of perception, is based on the audiences' previous experience. Joseph argues that the acting and the gestures used to portray the various emotions are naturalistic, and indeed perhaps they were taken from observed real-life action. Once these actions are shown on stage, the physical distance between actor and audience causes an authentic rendering of an emotion to be too subtle. The emotions must, therefore, be overplayed in order that they may be seen.

This reasoning may be used to argue the superiority of television, as a more personal, authentic, and hence naturalistic, medium. Television only appears to be naturalistic, based on our experience. Surface analysis of television programs will contradict this - life problems are not resolved in an hour. Soap operas actors gaze into space for extended periods when addressed and action is suspended for advertisement breaks.

Our familiarity has removed any anomalies to our perception of television as being anything but natural. I believe that a similar situation may have occurred with drama for the medieval audience - familiarity with the genre meant that they may have perceived the acting style as 'natural', while to a modern audience it may have been stylized. Therefore, even if a contemporary document were to emerge that stated that the acting style was naturalistic, this would not necessarily hold true by modern perceptions.

---

60 W. C. Hazlitt (ed.), 'To his friend Thomas Riley' (1632), *Poetical and Dramatic Works of Thomas Randolph*, 1875, 2.60 in B. L. Joseph, p. 2.

Audience

Not a great deal has been written about the audience of medieval plays and what evidence does exist is from a later period. For example, the *Cambridge* REED volumes have a number of references to visits in 1615, 1622 and 1624 by the king and various ambassadors to colleges. These colleges then entertained these lords by performing plays, mostly comedies.[61] Who the actual audience were at medieval plays remains a mystery that may only be hypothesized. The evidence of the audience of the Macro plays must, therefore, come from the texts themselves. *Mankind* has the clearest evidence of the social strata of the audience through references in the text, previously quoted. The local worthies, Master Huntyngton and others (lines 504 - 515), were mentioned in jest by the Vices who were intending to visit them. Possibly, as stated previously, these men were known to be corrupt, possibly also the author is having a joke at their expense, but it is equally likely that these men were in the audience and that the author was sharing a joke with them. This possibility is enhanced by Mercy's address to the audience; "O ȝe souerens þat sytt and ȝe brothern þat stonde ryght wppe" (29), which indicates that there were at least two levels in the audience at this particular production. This differentiation may, of course, be merely one of who arrived first at the acting area and therefore gained a seat, but it is tempting to speculate that it indicates social demarcation. This speculation is strengthened by the previously mentioned possibility that Master Huntyngton and his peers may have been in the audience. Stronger evidence is presented in the language used by Mercy. He differentiates between the "sourerens" and his humble "brothern", probably not clerics but those who he perceives as being his social equals. The language in *Mankind*, being highly scatological, may serve also to indicate audience. This language includes references to "schetun yowr mowth full of turdys" (132), "Osculare fundamentum!" (142) and "Yf ȝe wyll putt yowr nose in hys wyffys sokett" (145). If the assumption is made that scatological humour appealed only to the working class, it may be hypothesized that the

---

61 Alan Nelson (ed.), *Cambridge.*, REED, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1989, pp 540-1, 587, 598.

audience was predominantly of this social group. This is not a very sound proposition, however, as it assumes that scatological humour was not enjoyed by the upper class. As will be discussed further in the *Mankind* chapter, the human character Mankind is a farmer before his fall from grace. It may be possible, therefore, to argue that the audience were predominantly of a social class that would encompass the farming profession, as this would make Mankind's difficulties more relevant for them.

The evidence in regard to the audience from *Wisdom* is scant. As will be discussed in more detail in the chapter dealing with *Wisdom*, this play was possibly performed for Edward IV on one of his official visits to the Abbey at Bury St Edmund. The possible audience for this play would be nobles (the king and his retinue) and clergy (of various status). The use of Latin as part of the dialogue strengthens this supposition.[62] It is reasonable to assume that the author would expect the audience to understand this language - as would be the situation with the clergy and those who had had the benefit of some education. Latin is used for a different purpose in this play than in *Mankind.* In *Mankind,* Latin is used by Mercy to reinforce his position as a cleric. Doggerel Latin is then used by the Vices to mock Mercy. Latin, in this way, is predominantly used as a signifier, rather than for actual enhancement of meaning. Latin signifies Mercy's Christianity and place in the Church. When doggerel is used to mock Mercy, the Vices are actually mocking not just him but his morality.

Some critics speculate that *The Castle of Perseverance* was performed on a rounded mound. Southern has commented on the audience for this play in *The Medieval Theatre in the Round.*[63] He believes that a hill was surrounded by water or bars which were probably intended to keep out those spectators who had not paid admittance. B.S. Taylor, in her *Selections from the Castle of Perseverance,* indicates several reservations about Southern's

---

62 An example of this is from lines 17-18: "Hanc amaui et exquisiui: / Fro my yougthe thys haue I sowte."

63 Richard Southern, *The Medieval Theatre in the Round: A Staging of the Castle of Perseverance and Related Matters.* London, Faber and Faber, 1957, pp 34 - 49.

theory, especially that it would not be worth digging and filling such an immense structure for what may have been a single performance and the mound of earth may also not have been safe as a seating place.[64] Further, Taylor points out that it is not certain that admittance was actually collected and therefore the moat may not have been used to exclude those who had not paid. Lastly, as scaffolds were used, the audience would have had a clear view of the action without the acting area being mounded. Taylor proposes that, as the *Castle of Perseverance* diagram was a sketch and not a model, an altering of the dimensions may allow an alternative to Southern's hypothesis. This alternative was that the castle was only large enough to hold Humanum Genus and the Virtues and that the moat was able to be stepped over. With this scaling, touring, as indicated in the Banns, becomes more possible. The audience would then still have been seated in the round, outside the moat. It appears that there may have been some difference in the seating arrangements, based on social class, as the "worthy wights" and the "sirs seemly" are together "on [the] side" (156 -63). Again, this differentiation may have been in relation to superiority in the social hierarchy or merely result from a more expensive admittance fee being paid, if one was in fact paid.

There is very little in the language used in *The Castle of Perseverance* to indicate the potential audience. Latin is certainly used in the text, but for stage directions and biblical quotations rather than dialogue. A knowledge of Latin is not therefore necessary for a greater understanding of this play, especially as the Latin used is paraphrased in English immediately after.

The possible audience for the three Macro plays may be hypothesized using, predominantly, evidence from the dialogue and language features, principally the use of Latin. The plays were probably, therefore, intended for different target audiences. These audiences may not have been a homogeneous group as they may have been comprised of diverse classes and different professions.

---

64 B.S. Taylor (ed.), *Selections from The Castle of Perseverance,* Sydney, Drama Studies Unit, Dept. of English, University of Sydney, 1977, pp. 178-185.

Costume

The meaning behind dress (on and off the stage) has been extensively studied.[65] Veblen, at the turn of this century, observed that clothing was worn not for mere body protection but as an expression of the social context of the wearer: to distinguish the wearer's class, age, sex and particularly wealth. He evolved, therefore, the theories of conspicuous waste, conspicuous consumption, conspicuous leisure and conspicuous outrage.[66] As previously mentioned, the fifteenth century was a period of great social upheaval and this was reflected in the abrupt fashion changes. Prior to this upheaval, there had been demarcation between those who performed physical labour and those who did not. After commerce and trade increased, however, towns, rather than individual manors, became the centres of wealth.[67] The upper class, the traditional land-owners, seemed to use conspicuous expenditure to differentiate themselves from the rising merchant class. As the wealth of the merchants grew, the nobility, through the Church and the law, used sumptuary laws to prevent the newly rich from rivalling them. These sumptuary laws covered not only dress but also banqueting, decoration and funerals. Edward III was the first in the medieval period to demand the implementation of sumptuary laws. He ordered that ermine and pearls (with the exception of the decoration on head-dresses) could be worn only by the royal family and nobles with an income exceeding £1000. At the end of the medieval period, Henry VIII ordered that baronesses and women of higher rank must wear a train before and after their skirts which had to be attached to a girdle. Those below the rank of baroness were not permitted to wear a train at all. Men were ordered to wear their hair short, and were not permitted to wear

---

65 T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Random House, New York, 1934. J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes*, Hogarth Press and the Institution of Psycho-Analysis, London, 1971. Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes*, Bloomsbury Publishing, London, 1981. Margery Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross Dressing and Cultural Anxiety*, Routledge, New York, 1992.

66 See pages 24-26 of chapter 1 for more information on Veblen's terms and theories.

67 E.B. Hurlock, "Sumptuary Law" in Roach and Eicher (ed.), *Dress, Adornment and the Social Order*, John Wiley & Sons Inc, New York, 1965, pp. 295-301, is the source for the information concerning this general information on employment demarcation and sumptuary laws.

beards of any fashion. Elizabeth I continued also to uphold these laws, ordering that hair was not to be worn long or curled and that gowns might be of a "sad colour" only. (James I repealed all the sumptuary laws, as the purchase of expensive clothing was of benefit to the economy.) In response to the laws, the lower and middle class developed their own fashions within the law's strict guidelines. Faked expensive fur, made particularly of cat and dog skin, was extensively worn. In regional areas, the lower class developed distinctive styles of dress for special occasions. This dress was made from locally obtained fabrics but was often lavishly decorated with embroidery (popular during the fourteenth century) thereby avoiding any sumptuary law infringements. Garber, dealing more with the social implications of these laws, believes that sumptuary laws were economically and conservatively class orientated and that regulators wanted to ensure that an individual's social station, social rule and gender, for example, could be read through their dress.

The social differentiation in clothes, I believe, pin-points one of the most important themes of the Macro plays. As mentioned in chapter 1, medieval plays indicate that sin is committed with the wish to become part of a higher class. This is clearly illustrated in the Macro plays as each of the human characters changes costume when they commit sin, becoming worldly and fashionable. Humanum Genus in *The Castle of Perseverance*, originally "pore" and "nakyd", is dressed to befit his new station, as friend to the World. Mankind, in *Mankind,* has the most dramatic costume change, perhaps because the transformation is conducted upon stage and is worked by degrees. Before accepting sin, he wears the gown of a farmer. After he turns away from Mercy, his costume changes. It is now fashionable and immodest, as are his companions, and these changes reflect his altered social status. Both Humanum Genus and Mankind may be seen, through their new costumes and their sinful attitudes, to fall now into the dramatic/ allegorical category of the Gallant. There will be more said about this character in the chapters on the individual plays.

Anima in *Wisdom* changes her costume when her Mind, Will and Understanding choose to fall from grace, and it is their costumes that most closely show a correspondence with those of Mankind and Humanum Genus. Mind, Will and Understanding are, before their fall, dressed in white cloth-of-gold and have gold wigs. When they embrace a life of sin, they also don new clothes, "Lo, me here in a new aray!" (552), causing the powerless Anima to become "horrybull". They then take Anima from the Church to join Lucifer.

The pattern emerges that a change in social status is accompanied by a visual change in costume, usually to a costume that is highly fashionable, worldly or otherwise indicative of a higher wealth or social class. It is this cycle of changed social class/ sin/ changed costume that, I believe, is very interesting as it indicates, through costume, a message to the audience about the maintenance of the status quo of society.

Costume is rarely described in stage directions in any great detail in medieval plays (one exception is *Wisdom*). Evidence is minimal and guess-work is extensive. Not only is there a great lack of evidence, but that which does exist is confusing because of obscure terminology. For example, Twycross has discussed the difficulty in discerning the difference between a sirk and a "cote" when the terms are often used interchangeably. Other difficulties emerge when assessments of fabric costs are required, as the fabric may have been woven in 27, 45 or 72 inch widths, with no indication given as to their comparative costs.[68]

The existing evidence concerning costume mainly comes from a number of records of accounts. From the Macro play period, the fifteenth century, it can be seen that costumes were either made, hired, for example, "Reseyvyd for the hier of ovr players Apparell vj s" (Coventry Weavers' account, 1604) or borrowed, as in the many references to clerical albs being washed in the *Coventry* REED

---

68 See pp. 73-74 of *The Castle of Perseverance* chapter for a full discussion of fabric costs.

records, presumably prior to being returned after use.[69] There are records to indicate that vestments were obtained from the Church after the Reformation, for example "the bisschops taberd of scarlet that we bought in the trenete church", then hired out, as this garment was for 10s in 1544 by the Coventry Smiths. Cast-off clothing was also used for costumes (there was a law suit in 1530 involving John Rastell's wardrobe of cast-off clothing for costumes).[70]

Costuming evidence indicates that certain traditional practices remained the same over a long period of time. These costumes are mainly for the Virtue characters. The costuming of angels in white albs, for example, was established by the time of the Macro plays and they are still being shown wearing white albs today, a period of over 500 years. Mary too is still shown in a white gown with her blue (for devotion) cloak over it. In a more medieval context, Virtues still wore the same long white gowns in 1522 as they did in *The Castle of Perseverance.*[71] It may be said, therefore, that certain costumes became traditional and remained basically the same for an extended time.

In medieval plays, when the characters and their costumes are examined, three main groupings appear. These categories are traditional costumes, such as those previously mentioned, contemporary costumes and fanciful costumes.

Traditional costumes, such as those worn by Mary, Christ and the other virtuous characters tend to be undecorated and of a plain and sober colour. The styling of these garments is usually quite full and long. As stated in chapter 1, this particular cut and lack of decoration is seen by Hollander to "bestow moral worth" and endow the character with honour and dignity. These types of dress she

---

69 R.W. Ingram (ed.), *Coventry.* The references to the Weavers' account appear on p.366 and the references to the albs being washed on p. 98 (34), p.162 (23), p.163 (30), p.170 (20).

70 Meg Twycross, "Apparell Comlye", in P. Neuss (ed.), *Aspects of Early English Drama,* D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 1983, p.37.

71 See page 100 of *The Castle of Perseverance* chapter for more details of the 1522 record.

equates to the togas of classical art.[72] The earliest Christians were under Roman rule and many features of clerical vestments may be seen to relate back to Roman dress. The alb or tunica alba was the base dress for Romans of all classes and did not become specifically a Christian vestment until the fifth century.[73] If drama developed from liturgical representation, then it becomes possible to argue that full cut, plain dress, and especially that also used for vestments, may be regarded as the original costume.

The second category of costumes worn were contemporary garments. As described above, these costumes may have been borrowed, hired, made, or, for more everyday characters, perhaps been the actors' own. These costumes would have been worn by ordinary characters, such as those in certain mystery plays, for example the gossips, shepherds, midwives, and in morality plays, Garcio in *Castle of Perseverance* and probably *Mankind* before his fall. For certain of the Vice characters, fashionable garb would probably have been worn. As the human characters, after their fall, become gallants, their costumes usually had to be extraordinarily fashionable - it would therefore be inappropriate for them to wear traditional costume. These fashionable costumes would presumably be borrowed for the play or made especially, but probably from inferior fabrics, as it is unlikely that poor actors would have owned such costumes.

In plays featuring historical characters, such as Kynge Johan, medieval, contemporary costumes were still often used. Kolve has commented that medieval drama represents "biblical past in terms of medieval present."[74] Certainly, as Fletcher has pointed out, these costumes are not always contemporary to the plays, but references

---

[72] See chapter 1, p. 25.

[73] Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress*, London, BJ Batsford Ltd, 1984. See Chapter 1 of Mayo's work for details on the relationship between Roman costume and vestments.

[74] V. A. Kolve, *The Play called Corpus Christi,* Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1966, p.102. By this, Kolve is indicating that contemporary costumes, settings and action are used to represent plays set in biblical contexts, as was the common practice in the Middle Ages. This was presumably to highlight for the medieval audience that biblical characters were beset by human foibles and dilemmas and that medieval people may meet with similar situations.

to, for example, Caiaphas' doctors being dressed "aftyr þe old gyse" (208) in play 26 of the N-Town cycle, indicate that the costumes were fashioned with reference to more recent contemporary costume history, rather than to distant biblical costume. Fletcher argues that with contemporary costume "familiar things may be present, but are often combined in unfamiliar ways, or yet with things themselves unfamiliar, and noticeably when the divine or infernal are in view."[75] He cites the case of Christ, also in the N-Town cycle play 26, who is arrested by ten people "with swerdys, gleyvys [halberds], and other straunge wepouns", illustrating that while swords and halberds may have been perfectly familiar to the medieval citizen, when they are combined with the "straunge wepoun[s]" and are in the presence of a divine character, they become special, or, to use Fletcher's word, exotic.

Fletcher also argues that it is not merely costumes and properties that are transported back to serve in the biblical plays, but settings and actions. As an example of this, he relates that "N-Town's farting devil is not just scatologically apt; he is presented for a moment doing something that medieval jesters often did".[76] In medieval plays, for example the Macro plays, there are references to contemporary happenings and personages. This occurs in *Mankind*, with the mention of "Wylliam Thurlay of Hauston [and] ... Pycharde of Trumpyngton ..." (505-515). Despite the play being set in a non-specific time the mention of these men anchors the play to a particular period. It may be seen therefore, that although medieval producers may have known about historical costuming, they may have chosen not to use this knowledge exclusively, or at all, because that was not contemporary practice. It is known that this costuming practice was still continued into Shakespeare's time, at least upon occasion, even for historical figures. This was despite the various works on costumes written and illustrated by this date.[77] There is, now in the possession of the Marquess of Bath, a

---

75 Fletcher, p.179.

76 Fletcher, p.180.

77 One of these works was *De Gli Habiti Antichi et Moderni di Diverse Parti del Mondo* by Vecellio, published in Venice in 1590. Dr Aileen Ribeiro, in the introduction of Albert Racinet, *The Historical Encyclopaedia of Costume*, London: Studio Editions,

drawing of seven characters in *Titus Andronicus* in 1595 (Fig. 6). Two of the soldiers wear contemporary military uniform while a third wears a breast plate and a plumed helmet, approximating Roman dress. Aaron the Moor is wearing the tunic and buskins of the Elizabethan period. According to James Laver, the two kneeling figures "appear to be entirely Elizabethan, and Tamora wears a flowing robe".[78]

The third costume category includes fanciful costumes that gradually built a tradition of their own. Traditional, fanciful costumes were predominantly worn by extravagant Vice characters such as devils, torturers, Herod and fools. These costumes usually feature masks and often have bestial elements.[79] Often colours are traditional also, such as red and black for devils. The costumes are also of a fanciful nature. For example, while a devil may have been known to be bestial, the costume makers' fancy determines which bestial elements are used and how. The devil may have horns, fangs, claws, a tail, be covered in fur or feathers or not. There is therefore great flexibility in the fanciful costumes. These costumes may have changed often, depending upon the wealth of the acting guild or producers.

Costume and spectacle are of vital importance in producing the visual image in drama. Twycross has discussed the importance of visual imagery for medieval people.[80] Her arguments are based on the three standard branches of the medieval theory of visual aids, as described in *Dives and Pauper*. The three purposes of images are "to steryn manys mende to thynkyn of Christys incarnacioun and of his passioun and of holye sentys lyuys ... to steryn mannys affeccioun and his herte to deuocioun".[81] Image is the most

---

1988, claims that "there is a long tradition of illustrated costume books ... that first appeared in the 1560s" (p.4) but does not reference any of these works.

78 James Laver, *Costume in the Theatre*, George G. Harrap and Co., London, 1964, pp.95-139 has a complete history of the use of contemporary costume for the plays of Shakespeare through to 1925.

79 Examples of these features primarily in relation to devils will be given in the *Mankind* chapter.

80 Meg Twycross, 'Beyond the Picture Theory: Image and Activity in Medieval Drama'. *Word and Image in the Theatre*, 4, Nos. 3 and 4 (July - December 1988), pp.589-617.

81 Priscilla Heath Barnum (ed.), *Dives and Pauper*. EETS 275, 1975, p. 82.

Fig. 6 'Scene from *Titus Andronicus*' from a manuscript of 1595 in the possession of the Marquess of Bath; rpt. in James Laver, *Costume in the Theatre* (London: George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., 1964) p.103.

appropriate medium for this purpose as "often man is more steryd be syghte þan be heryng or redyngge".[82] As Twycross explains, "mannys affeccioun" would probably be translated into modern criticism as "the power to stir up emotional responses."[83] Mind, in "manys mende", here implies memory in medieval psychology. Images have two functions for the "memory", the first is to recall actual events to mind (whether a person was actually there or not - the "newsreel effect") and the second is to leave a vivid memory for future use.[84] In these purposes, drama is a better medium than art because "betere they be holden in mennus minde and oftere rehersid by the pleying of hem than by the pentinge, for this is a deed bok, the tother a qu[i]ck."[85] As Twycross explains, the play has not fulfilled its purpose if the audience go away without intended images imprinted on their "mental retina".[86] She further argues that

> Plays are not just moving pictures, images that change along a narrative line. One thing which is peculiar to live theatre is the fact that whatever is happening is happening in the here and now ... The best ones can take your breath away ... by their immediacy ... because the live theatre communicates the sense of difficulty and achievement which generates its own suspense and excitement ... If you translate this into a religious context, the emotion and suspense generated can be read as religious emotion, directed towards the events and figures which are being portrayed rather than towards the actors and stage-machinery which are portraying them.[87]

---

82 Barnum, p. 82.

83 Twycross, 'Beyond the Picture Theory...', p. 591.

84 Twycross, 'Beyond the Picture Theory...', p. 591.

85 Quoted in Clifford Davidson (ed.), *The Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge.* (A Middle English Treatise on the Playing of Miracles) Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1981, p. 40.

86 Twycross, 'Beyond the Picture Theory...', p. 591.

87 Twycross, 'Beyond the Picture Theory...', p. 603.

Visual image has relevance in communicating the suspense and excitement necessary for authenticating the real event for the audience, and costume and spectacle enhance this suspense and excitement.[88] Special costumes, especially when colourful or brilliantly decorated, have the power to increase excitement. The more vivid the image, the more the image will be clarified and the memory of it prolonged. An enjoyable and visually satisfying spectacle will be recalled more often to mind for the pleasure of the receiver, and this too will serve to increase the duration of it in the memory. It is, therefore, of great importance for the author and/ or producer to provide an entertaining spectacle since this will improve the retention of the message. As Twycross has stated, suspense and excitement, as part of entertainment, facilitate communication of the intended message. Costume affects spectacle and pageantry and these elements may be combined, therefore, to further this aim. These combined elements are not confined to the medieval period, particularly in regard to processions. I do not believe that spectacles, of any form, have developed for their own sake but rather have a specific and cultural purpose, often used for legitimising the status quo. Usually, for example, with a procession, there is a historical (remembering) purpose behind its development. In earlier periods, the procession of the king through a town was intended to display his majesty and the triumphal processions, his power.

Spectacle, pageantry and the visual imagery of costume are, therefore, important in the enhancement of the enjoyment of the audience. The more powerful the imagery, the greater the possibility that the purpose or message will be retained in the "mende".

88 Twycross, 'Beyond the Picture Theory...', p. 589.

CHAPTER 3

THE CASTLE OF PERSEVERANCE

The Castle of Perseverance is longer than the other Macro plays and is one of the earliest morality plays. W.A. Davenport has written that *The Castle of Perseverance* "belongs with the grand, encyclopaedic intentions of the early fifteenth century translators, moralists and narrative poets. The themes are very similar to those used by the later playwrights, but here is the full scale version, with all the sins, all the virtues, good and bad angels, God and the Devil, the World and the Flesh, presented in a grandiose stage setting which represents all the corners of the Earth, and beyond".[1] *The Castle of Perseverance* is very typical of morality plays, having allegorical figures interpreting Christian teachings.

Many ideas, taken from current social concerns rather than from a biblical context are noticeable in this play. Society and religion were, of course, closely linked at this time. As outlined in the Introduction, I believe that individuality and individual autonomy were emerging and that people were now beginning to consider themselves as individuals principally, rather than as members of a group or community. I further believe that this emergence was a result of the massive upheavals experienced by society at this time. One visual indication of this emergence was the rejection of dress appropriate to the wearer's station, the adoption of fashion, and the subsequent sumptuary laws aimed at curtailing these adoptions. This rejection and adoption of fashionable dress is paralleled in *The Castle of Perseverance*. I therefore intend, through this, and subsequent chapters, to distinguish where general morality play practices show the influence of new, emerging ideas, especially individual autonomy, and social upheaval.

After a general introduction to *The Castle of Perseverance*, there will be an analysis of the information contained in the text of the play itself and other contemporary evidence which will allow the reader to discern both the traditional elements and the social

---

1 W.A. Davenport, *Fifteenth Century English Drama: The Early Moral Plays and their Literary Relations* , D. S. Brewer, Cambridge, 1982, p.120.

changes in regard to costuming. This will enable the reader to judge as to whether the costuming of *The Castle of Perseverance* was being used to indicate the author's distrust of social change.

The author of *The Castle of Perseverance* was an essentially conservative man who highlighted his conservatism by having Humanum Genus sinning and rejecting the traditional social hierarchy, as sanctified through the Pauline allegory of the "unum corpus christi".[2] I will argue that the author of *The Castle of Perseverance* does not approve of the changes occurring in his society at this time and that he is using costuming in his plays to represent his opinions in iconographic form for the audience. This dove-tails with the main theme which is, as is the case in other morality plays, that those who embrace sin will be punished and those who repent will be forgiven. When Humanum Genus comes into the service of the World, the Flesh and the Devil, he changes his social situation. This shift in social class was occurring for many, for example merchants, at this time. Humanum Genus takes advantage of his new-found wealth and the Vices dress him fashionably, so that he becomes a gallant, aping the upperclass.

Milla C. Riggio has analysed *The Castle of Perseverance* and has determined that this play deals "simultaneously with political issues and spiritual matters without self-contradiction".[3] Riggio believes that these two are compatible, since corruption may be seen to be an illustration of spiritual decay. She sees the play as having four distinct traditional theological and allegorical metaphors, "the pilgrimage of human life, the battle between the vices and the remedial virtues, the defence of a figurative castle, and the debate of the four daughters of God in the parliament of Heaven".[4] While Riggio recognises these four allegorical motifs, she does not fully explain their interrelationships.

The main body of *The Castle of Perseverance* may be seen to be a forerunner to *Mankind, Mundus et Infans* and *Everyman*, in that the

---

2 See p.7 for a full explanation of this.
3 M.C. Riggio (ed.), *The Wisdom Symposium,* AMS Press, Inc., New York, 1986, p.187.
4 Riggio, p.189.

play deals, often humorously, with the birth, sin and redemption of Humanum Genus, the "pilgrimage" mentioned by Riggio. A deeply theological scene has, however, been added to the end of *The Castle of Perseverance* with God and His Daughters and their debate over the fate of Humanum Genus which is unlike these later morality plays. It may be argued that this portion of the action was not in the original production, as it is not mentioned in the banns at the beginning of the play. The Vexillators, in fact, claim that the Virgin Mary shall intercede for Humanum Genus, "And oure lofly Ladi if sche wyl for hym mell" (124). It is possible that this ending was re-written, and replaced, at a later date.

Belsey has written about the theme of *The Castle of Perseverance* and believes that in this play Humanum Genus' morality moves through from innocence to sin then grace. After being forgiven he then becomes sinful again before dying.[5] When sins are forgiven at death, the soul is once again without sin, thus producing a circular moral pattern. This cycle of birth, sin then forgiveness, is the pattern by which the genre of the morality play may be known and, as this is the basis of Christianity, it may be seen that traditional Christian imagery is prominent in *The Castle of Perseverance.*[6] The signifying message from the moral changes of Humanum Genus is that God will always forgive those who sincerely repent, even if they fall again into sin. This is the message each of the morality plays gives. Bevington argues that the morality genre is "characterized primarily by the use of allegory to convey a moral lesson about religious or civil conduct, presented through the medium of abstractions or representative social characters".[7] He continues to explain that "the most common plot of these moralities, retold in play after play, was that of an allegorical

---

[5] Catherine Belsey, 'The Stage Plan of *The Castle of Perseverance*', *Theatre Notebook*, Vol.28, No. 3, 1974, p.130.

[6] Frances J. Hildahl, 'Penitence and Parody in *The Castle of Perseverance*', *Early Drama to 1600,* Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, Vol 13, 1985, p.129. Hildahl claims that the audience of *Castle* would be familiar with these morality changes and hence the playwright "could assume that many in his audience would recognise his allusions to familiar penitential formulae", which indicates that Hildahl at least believes that there is a wealth of Christian imagery, symbolism and tradition pertaining to the penitent in this play.

[7] David Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlow*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1962, p.9.

contest for the spiritual welfare of the Mankind hero. Mankind's chief tempter, commonly called the Vice, attempted to turn him from good to evil."[8]

The characters in *The Castle of Perseverance,* as with all the morality plays, can be classified as Human, Virtue or Vice. *The Castle of Perseverance* also has the neutral character, Death. The individual characters and their costumes will be discussed in this order.

* * *

I. Humanum Genus (Mankind)

Mankind, or Humanum Genus, does not enter the play until (the editor's) scene four where he tells that he is just newly born, "þis nyth I was of my modyr born" (276). This state causes him to be both "feynt" and "febyl" and naked, "I am nakyd of lym and lende" and "And nakyd I am, as ȝe may se" (279 and 285). It is this last line in particular that allows one, literal, interpretation of the costuming of Humanum Genus at this stage in his life, namely that he is naked. Among surviving records, there is no evidence that actors performed naked. Thomas Warton, the poet laureate (1728-1790) states, however, that Adam and Eve in an eighteenth century mystery, *The Old and New Testament,* were, in fact, naked on the stage.[9] Chambers does not agree with this statement being used for

---

[8] Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlow,* p.9.

[9] Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century (1774-81),* Hazlitt (ed.), Haskell House Publishers Ltd., 1970, pp.6 & 33, states that "In these Mysteries I have sometimes seen gross and open obscenities. In a play of *The Old and New Testament* Adam and Eve are both exhibited on the stage naked, and conversing about their nakedness: this very pertinently introduces the next scene, in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary spectacle was beheld by a numerous assembly of both sexes with great composure: they had the authority of scripture for such a representation, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of Genesis. It would have been absolute heresy to have departed from the sacred text in

all references to nakedness, commenting that the belief medieval actors playing pre-lapsarian Adam and Eve were naked has occurred through "a too liberal interpretation of the stage directions of the Chester plays": "Statim nudi sunt... Tunc Adam and Eva cooperiant genitalia sua cum foliis". He believes that they should be "aparlet in whytt lether", as they were in Jordan's *Cornish Creation of the World*, as, even though this production was a late one, he "think[s] it may be taken for granted that white leather was sufficient to meet the exigencies even of medieval realism".[10] If the assertion that the actors were naked were correct, it would render the question concerning women acting in medieval plays resolved, since the part of Eve would have to be played by a woman.[11] Stronger evidence for Humanum Genus wearing *some* article of clothing, in his newly-born state, occurs in line 293 when Humanum Genus says of himself, "Bare and pore is my clothynge", with "pore" implying the quality rather than the absence of clothing.

Tydeman has stated, without obvious evidence, that Humanum Genus is only wearing a loin cloth and nothing more.[12] A loin or breech cloth, being a very basic item of clothing, could easily be described as bare and poor. I believe that the wearer, in a loin cloth as a sole garment, would still be perceived as naked. As Humanum Genus is wearing a "sely crysme" (294) on his head, he is evidently not stark naked. A loin cloth from the age of *The Castle of Perseverance* may be seen on the figure of the man drawing his bow in *The Luttrell Psalter,* where gathered white fabric may be clearly seen between the drawn up legs of the bow-man (Fig. 7) The loin or breech cloth, a most basic garment, was a "long, rectangular piece

---

personating the primitive appearance of our first parents, whom the spectators so nearly resembled in simplicity". Warton was writing in mid 1700s and his comments are not firm evidence for a period three hundred years earlier. As Mystery plays with live actors ceased during the Tudor period, perhaps Warton did not "see" the play, but rather read of it.

10 The Chester play and Jordan's *Cornish Creation of the World* are both quoted in E.K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage,* Volume 2, Oxford University Press, 1903, p.143. ("At once they realize they are naked...Then Adam and Eve cover their genitals with foliage").

11 See chapter 2 for details of this debate.

12 William Tydeman, *English Medieval Theatre 1400-1500,* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1986, p.86.

Fig. 7 'The Figure of the Man Drawing his Bow', f.54, *The Luttrell Psalter*, early 1300s, Add. ms 42130; rpt. in Janet Backhouse, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London: The British Library Board, 1989) p. 37.

of material, encircling the hips, tied in front, and sometimes belted at the waist".[13] These garments were usually made of coarse fabric, often linen, and they were originally worn, according to Yarwood, by all classes of people. Since this is a simple and common garment, it would not appear in any dramatic costume records, as the actors would all probably possess one.[14]

In addition to the general availability of loin cloths, there could also be a symbolic link between Humanum Genus wearing this costume and Christ, who committed no sin, on the cross, wearing nothing but a loin cloth or fabric draped to cover his thighs. It is therefore appropriate that Humanum Genus should wear this costume as a new-born, in a state of personal innocence, albeit tainted with original sin. Symbolically, therefore, the loin cloth would be relevant for Humanum Genus.

The leather body-suit is another costume that appears from limited evidence to have been used to indicate nakedness. Adam and Eve possibly wore close-fitting garments, probably of "whytt" or other coloured "lether", to indicate their nakedness.[15] It normally took about six skins of leather to make an all-over body-suit. Leather was quite inexpensive; 6 skins cost the Smiths 18d in 1452 which was the same price as 1 yard of red saye. Between 1449 and 1585 the Drapers and the Smiths of Coventry bought, in different years, "vij skynnes for godys cott..."(1567) and "vi skynnys of wit leder [for] Godds garment" for the scene where He hangs on the cross, naked, except for a loin cloth.[16] God, in this case, probably refers to Jesus. In Norwich in 1565, later than *The Castle of Perseverance*, there is a record for "2 cotes & a payre hosen for

---

13 Doreen Yarwood, *English Costume from the Second Century BC to 1952,* B.T Batsford LTD, London, 1952, p.1.

14 For more information concerning the use of personal garments by actors, see chapter 2.

15 This reference is taken from Chambers, vol. 2, p.143 and may be from Jordan's *Cornish Creation of the World.*

16 Ingram, R. W. (ed.), *Coventry,* R.E.E.D., University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1984, p.474 and Hardin Craig, *Two Corpus Chrisi Plays,* 2nd ed., EETS extra series 87, London: Oxford University Press, 1957, p.85 and see section dealing with God, p. 80 onward for a discussion on the use of the term "God" to refer to any of the Trinity.

Eve, stayned. A cote & hosen for Adam, steyned".[17] The reference indicates that in some areas the leather suit was divided into two parts, making a (possibly) tight fitting coat and hose for the naked figures. God also wears a "kote of leddur" in Coventry, Chelmsford, New Romney in Kent and Tewkesbury.[18] "Whitleder" used for Adam and Eve and God was not actually white but (according to Twycross) selfcoloured, being tawed (not tanned) and left undyed and is therefore as close to skin colour as possible.[19] At about the time of *The Castle of Perseverance,* there exists a record stating, "Item: for 4 clean and large sheepskins to make the body of St. George, full length, to seem naked, and for the making of the said body, 1 flor."[20] While it is possible that this is for the making of a puppet to represent St George, it is more likely, from the wording, that it is for the making of a body-suit as, "to make the body of St. George ... seem naked", indicates disguise. If it were a puppet, it is more likely that the wording would be "to make a naked St. George". Possibly therefore, Humanum Genus is wearing a leather suit. Leather resembled human skin while protecting the actor from the cold and was, therefore, practical as well as symbolic. It may be that the loin cloth could be worn over this costume. Such a costume is appropriately symbolic, realistic and available.

It is impossible that Humanum Genus would have worn a costume of knitted material to represent nakedness, since knitted fabrics were relatively unknown until the last half of the sixteenth century and even then they were mainly used for hose. It is thus

---

17 David Galloway (ed.), *Norwich 1540-1642,* R.E.E.D., University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1984, p. 53.

18 This summary and compilation of data concerning the use of leather to indicate nakedness is taken from Meg Twycross, 'Apparell Comlye' in Paula Neuss (ed.), *Aspects of Early English Drama,* Brewer, Barnes and Noble, Cambridge, 1983, p.36.

19 Leather, when tanned, has a yellowish colour due to the oak bark used. When leather is tawed, it is steeped in alum and salt, which does not impart any additional colour to the material.

20 This reference was from the property list for the play of Saint George, probably performed in Turin in 1429. I was unable to see this record and therefore must rely on the translation of it in Peter Meredith and John E.Tailby, *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages: Texts and Documents in English Translation,* Medieval Institute Publications, Kalamazoo, 1983, p.112.

Fig. 8 'The Presentation', Paris, second quarter of the 15th century, Add. ms 31834, f.66; rpt. in Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours*, (London: The British Library, 1988) p.37.

highly unlikely that they were utilized when other more traditional materials, such as leather, were available.[21]

While there is doubt as to what constitutes nakedness on the medieval stage, there is no doubt that Humanum Genus is also wearing a crisom shortly after his birth: "A sely crysme myn hed hath cawth/ þat I tok at myn crystenynge" (294-5). A "crysme" is defined in Eccles' glossary as a "cloth wrapped around the head at baptism".[22] Ann Eljenholm Nichols has written rather extensively about these baptismal cloths and she relates that in modern productions of *The Castle of Perseverance,* Humanum Genus is usually shown as a child with a small piece of cloth sometimes wrapped around his head.[23] The crisom was actually a "white vesture" or white linen that is mentioned in the *Sarum Breviary* and later in the *Book of Common Prayer:* "The minister shall commaunde that the Crisomes be brought to the churche, and delyuered to the priestes after the accustomed maner, at the purificacion of the mother of euery chylde".[24] In the "Presentation of Jesus in the Temple", a French illustration of about 1450, a priest is shown with a white cloth laid down receiving the infant Jesus from the arms of his mother, who holds a similar cloth (Fig. 8). The crisom was a cloth that was given to the mother and child at its baptism and that remained with them until the mother had been purified. According to a standard authority on English Ecclesiastical law, William Lyndwood's *Constitutiones Provinciales,* completed in 1430, if the child died before this ceremony, the parents could keep the cloth to use as the baby's shroud.[25] The cloth must, therefore, have been at least a metre square. That Humanum Genus is wearing a "sely crysme" is not only directly stated in the text but it also

---

21 Twycross, 'Apparell Comlye', p.36.

22 Mark Eccles, (ed.), *The Macro Plays,* E.E.T.S. Oxford University Press, London, 1969, p.238.

23 Ann Eljenholm Nichols, 'Costume in the Moralities: The Evidence of East Anglian Art', *Comparative Drama,* Vol. 20, 1986-7, p.312.

24 Francis Procter, *A History of the Book of Common Prayer,* 17th ed., Macmillan and Co., London, 1884, pp. 371 and 382. Quotation is from The *First and Second Prayer-Books of King Edward the Sixth,* with introduction by Douglas Harrison, Dent, London, 1910, p.241.

25 There are references to crisoms in *The Story of Genesis and Exodus,* edited by R. Morris, E.E.T.S., No 7, 1865, p. 140, (2458). A "crisme-child" in *The Middle English Dictionary,* is "an infant newly baptised".

belongs to a well-documented history of practice. He may be wearing the crisom either rolled like a turban or draped over his head and crossed over his shoulders. While it is impossible to determine the extent to which naturalism was considered important in costume design, this latter idea may have suggested a baby wrapped in a blanket. The rite of baptism played an extremely important part in the life of medieval people, for without this ceremony, they were not considered to be part of the Christian community and, as Ullman states, not, therefore, "fidelis".[26] The ceremony of baptism implied that the individual was no longer "endowed with autonomous, indigenous functions insofar as they related to the management of public affairs... The consequence of the incorporation was that [their] fidelitas, [their] faithfulness, consisted precisely in [their] obeying the law of those who were instituted over [them] by divinity".[27] Later, Humanum Genus rejects the Church and thereby rejects social unity and the established social hierarchy. These rejections highlight his individual autonomy through his ability to chose his own moral path. They also, in this period of history, earmark him as a sinner.

After infancy, the next stage in Humanum Genus' life comes when he decides to choose food and clothing (and an evil life) over the spiritual salvation offered by the Good Angel. Humanum Genus thus becomes a servant of the World. He is "but 3onge" and he wants to be "riche in gret aray" (423 and 377). In turning from the Good Angel and the godly life, Humanum Genus rejects his simple costume and Christ. Folly assures him, "þou shalt be clad in clothys newe" (564). Humanum Genus is now in "welthys wonde" and "In robys ryve" (699 and 625). He is, furthermore, covered "in bryth besauntys". Bevington, in his article about the penitential aspects in *The Castle of Perseverance,* has glossed this as covered in "gold coins".[28] He has argued that the gold coins are symbolic of "a depraved reliance on worldly wealth" and equates this "worldly

---

26 Walter Ullman, *The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages,* Methuen and Co., London, 1967, p.9.

27 Ullman, p.9.

28 David Bevington, '"Man, Thinke on thine Endinge Day": Stage Pictures of Just Judgement in The Castle of Perseverance', in David Bevington (ed.), *"Homo Memento Finis": The Iconography of Just Judgement in Mediæval Art and Drama,* Kalamazoo, Mediæval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1985, p.159.

Fig. 9 'The Three Living and the Three Dead', The Office of the Dead in an Eastern French Book of Hours, c.1490, private collection, s.n., fol.72r; rpt. in Christopher De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Phaidon Press, 1994) p.175.

arrogance and splendid array" with a fifteenth century English illustration of 'The Three Living and The Three Dead' (Fig. 9). In this moral painting, "three insolent young worldlings, often seen hunting with hawks and other paraphernalia, encounter three cadavers as a reminder of the judgement to come".[29]

The evidence from the text concerning Humanum Genus' gallant's costume will be considered first. The costume is described generally but in no great detail. This garb is fine array and was given to Humanum Genus by Mundus' man, Pleasure. Humanum Genus would have been wearing long pointed shoes, since he is instructed to affect "longe crakows" (1059).[30] His clothing is also "jagge[d]" in every manner possible (1060). Humanum Genus wears the livery of Mundus, his "good lord". This livery is described as "nobyl aray" (728). Riggio claims that this livery is one aspect of the play's concern with the traditional feudal system, focusing on the author's and/or the audience's conservatism. Riggio further stresses this relationship between the play and its feudal leanings by quoting words dealing with this state, for example, "assize", "enprise", "trust", "ure" and "owse".[31] Holbrook agrees: "World announces that everyone in his service will be a 'king, wearing crown and richest robes' (476-77), i.e, the king's livery".[32] It is difficult to ascertain whether Holbrook is arguing that Humanum Genus, too, would be wearing a crown but this seems unlikely as there are only three spheres, Heaven, Hell and the Earth, and these already have their lords in the form of God, the Devil and the World. Humanum Genus in a crown would be unnecessary and could potentially be confusing to the audience. Humanum Genus wearing the livery of Mundus would, however, form a visual connection with Mundus, in regard to the colour, style or, more probably, the coins that decorate Humanum Genus' robe and possibly decorate Mundus'. This hypothesis will, however, be commented on more fully in the discussion of the World.

---

29 David Bevington, '"Man, Thinke on thine Endinge Day"..., p.159 and 175.
30 See pages 9-10 of the Introduction for a full discussion of crackows.
31 Riggio, p.193.
32 S.E. Holbrook, 'Covetousness, Contrition and the Town in *The Castle of Perseverance'*, *Fifteenth Century Studies,* Vol.13, no. 213, 1988, p.279.

Humanum Genus is most likely dressed as a gallant, since finery, dagging and crackows are mentioned. These last two are mentioned by Pride who advises Humanum Genus to adopt these decorative practices along with the gallant's costume in which he has been dressed. Belsey has argued that, through this passive action on Humanum Genus' behalf (being dressed) he is showing that he still lacks subjectivity; he is not the agent of the action concerning himself.[33] Humanum Genus does, however, make the great choice of serving the World rather than leading the life outlined for him by the Good Angel. In this way, Humanum Genus is asserting his individual autonomy, his right to free choice. While he is certainly made very persuasive offers by the Bad Angel, the decision is still his. Once this decision is made, however, he does lose control over his actions, as indicated particularly by his helpless state when his possessions are given to Garcio. The visual outcome of his choice is his fashionable garb. Eljenholm Nichols has explained the symbolism of dressing a depraved Humanum Genus in a gallant's costume. She claims that a gallant's costume is the reversal of the white gown of baptism.[34] As stated above, Humanum Genus rejects the fidelitas of baptism when he rejects the ordained hierarchy and enters a higher social class.[35] It is therefore appropriate that he is wearing fashionable clothes, the "reversal of ... liturgical costume", the white gown of baptism, to show his rejection. Changing costume, particularly to one both colourful and elaborate, is therefore symbolic of moral decay. The gallant's costume commonly indicated a man who has fallen from grace (see *Mankind* chapter). Medwell's *Nature* fully describes the costume of the gallant and indicates the fashion excesses of the time:

> Syr our mayster shall have a gown
> That all the galandys in thys town
> Shall on the fassyon wonder-
> It shall not be sowed but wyth a lace
> Bytwyxt every seme a space
> of two handfull asonder.

---

[33] Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama,* Methuen, London and New York, 1985, p.15.
[34] Eljenholm Nichols, p.311.
[35] See p. 69.

Than a doublet of the new make
Close byfore and open on the bak-
No sleve upon hys arme.
Under that a shyrt as soft as sylk
And as whyte as any mylk
To kepe the carcas warm.

Than shall hys hosen be stryped,
Wyth corselettys of fyne velvet slyped
Down to the hard kne,
And fro the kne downward
Hys hosen shalbe freshely gard
Wyth colours two or thre." (1058-1075)[36]

In addition to this, hats, particularly those adorned with feathers, were a sign of decadence, at least in the seventeenth century. In *The Alchemist*, an anabaptist character states: "With the uncleane birds, in seventy-seven,/ were seene to pranke it with, on divers coasts./ Thou lookst like Antichrist in that lewd hat".[37]

While there are many indications of the type of gallant's costume that Humanum Genus is wearing, there is no detail of the costume itself, but it would no doubt be the height of fashion of the time. There is, fortunately, a wealth of evidence from contemporary illustrations of clothing fashionable in the early 1400s.

There were two basic masculine styles of garments of the time of *The Castle of Perseverance*, the "houppelande", a type of long gown, and the short tunic, a fashionable garment that Humanum Genus, as a gallant, may have worn. While these garments were both popular, the houppelande, a long, full garment, was more popular with older men.[38] Bells were often hung around the waist as decoration.[39] The

---

[36]Nelson, Alan H. (ed.), *The Plays of Henry Medwell*, D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 1980, p.118.

[37] Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*, IV. vii, S. Musgrove, (ed.), Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1968, p.110. Musgrove links this reference to "strange birds with feathers of 'divers coloures' like 'great ruffes', which were caught on the coast of Lincolnshire (in 1586) and interpreted by a pamphleteer as warning prodigals of sin", p. 150.

[38] Yarwood p.83. A houppelande was a voluminous outer garment worn from about 1360-5 till about 1445-50. It was fitted at the shoulder and was often buttoned up the front or not open at the front but slit to knee level at the sides. Often it was belted and had dagging on the edges. See also Mary Houston, *Medieval Costume in England and*

houppelande was most frequently made from rich fabrics, velvets and silks and, according to Yarwood, was often decorated with large patterns. The short tunic, which had previously been known as the "cotehardie" (in the fourteenth century), was also decorated in this way. According to Meg Twycross, canvas was often used for fashionable garments of the time, since this material was manufactured in a variety of weights.[40] Canvas was frequently used as an alternative to leather, since it is also very tough. Linthicum has also noted this, mentioning a reference in the Revels inventory of 1562 to "canvas with silver stripes".[41] Canvas could also be painted; however, according to Twycross, this was expensive, the painting occasionally costing more than the original canvas.[42] It is known that canvas was quite inexpensive compared to other fabrics. In 1538, the Coventry Cappers paid "for V eluys of canvas for shyrts & hose for the blakke soules at Vd the elue ijs jd" (an ell being 45 inches).[43] This was quite expensive for canvas (but perhaps it included the sewing into garments) as "ix elys of canvas yallow [was] xijd" and "x elys of canvas made blake [was] xd".[44] The lining cloth, which was merely used to line the "playars gownys", was "iijs viijd" for "iiij elys". Satin, on the other hand, was one of the most expensive materials. In 1502 the Smiths paid "ffor vj ȝards satten...xvj s x d".[45] They also paid for "1 yar[d]e of read saye xviijd".[46] In addition to this, "v ȝardes off blowe bokeram" cost ijs xjd (one yard being 36 inches).[47] It may be seen then that canvas cost between 1 and 5d per yard, buckram cost between 7 and 8d per yard, lining was about 8.8d per yard, red "saye" cost 18d per yard and satin 33.6d per yard. Since velvets and silks were often heavily

---

France, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1939, p.222 for a more extensive description of this garment.

39 Bells were a common feature of the fool's costume also and possibly there is further evidence of a relationship between fashionable clothing and some Vice costumes, given that fool-type characters were always Vice characters.

40 Twycross,'Apparell Comlye', p.36.

41 Details of the royal revels inventories are quoted in M. C. Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936, pp.96-7.

42 Twycross, 'Apparell Comlye', p.36.

43 Ingram, *Coventry*, p.465.

44 Ingram, *Coventry*, p.474.

45 Ingram, *Coventry*, p.97.

46 Ingram, *Coventry*, p.246.

47 Ingram, *Coventry*, p.97.

patterned with embroidery, printing or an integrated weave and canvas could be painted, perhaps a relatively inexpensive canvas could have been painted to imitate the more costly materials, creating a product that, from a distance, would have the same visual effect as the rich fabrics but at a lower cost. Ingram alludes to the comparative costs of painted canvas or fabric and authentic rich fabric. He quotes Sharp in his *Dissertation:* "It will be remarked that a sattin gown (probably blue) was provided for this character, whereas in other instances a painted dress sufficed".[48] It is possible, therefore, that Humanum Genus is wearing a canvas cotehardie, unless a more expensive costume was borrowed from a wealthy patron.

The tunic itself may have been in any number of colours. If the acting company relied on the support of the wealthy to bequeath clothing to the company or if the company borrowed clothing from patrons for the performance, the company would not have had a great deal of control over the general colours or style.[49] It would probably have been preferable for Humanum Genus' costume to be as removed as possible from the innocence and purity that the colour white implies. An alternative colour scheme that would serve to link Humanum Genus iconographically to his master, Mundus, would be for Humanum Genus to be wearing a combination of silver and gold. This would be particularly effective with the "bryth besauntys" attached.

It is likely that the changing of the clothing of Humanum Genus is actually taking place in sight of the audience while characters are speaking. The stage direction preceding line 615 directs that Humanum Genus and the World ascend and the World speaks down to his servants, Lust-liking, the Fool and the Bad Angel, telling them "Late clothe hym swythe/ In robys ryve/ Wyth ryche aray" (624-26). The command "late" indicates that these Vices were dressing Humanum Genus. Even though neither the Vice characters nor Humanum Genus speak in the following 54 lines, the dressing of Humanum Genus is mentioned in line 692, "For whanne Mankynde is

---

48 Ingram, *Coventry*, p.554, referring to Sharp's *Dissertation*, notes 29-30.
49 See chapter 2 for a discussion of this.

clopyd clere". By line 700, Humanum Genus has fully changed, both physically and spiritually: "Here is Mankynde ful fayr in folde./ In bryth besauntys he is bownde" (700-701). (The use of the word "bownde" is interesting in that it implies that he is not merely wrapped in the decorations of gold and silver but held prisoner by the allure of wealth.) Changing costume in the view of the audience is symbolically more powerful, as the audience would be able to see the changes as they were occurring. As a good man evolved into a corrupted one, they would be able to view evil at work.

The hope that Humanum Genus would repent is fulfilled when he, in his middle years ("þou art forty wyntyr olde, as I gesse", 1575) is pricked by the spear of Penitence, asks for forgiveness and is taken to the Castle of Perseverance. There is no indication in the text of Humanum Genus' costume. It is unlikely that Humanum Genus would retain his gallant's costume after being forgiven, as this would work in opposition to the text and the action that show Humanum Genus repenting. Bevington has argued that there would have definitely been a change in costume, as this anticipates later productions, for example *Mankind* and *Wisdom.*[50] Symbolically, the most appropriate costume for Humanum Genus in his regained grace would be dissimilar to that worn by him when a follower of Mundus. Probably a simple shift would be most effective, as it would be plain, long, enveloping and modest, or perhaps fabric wrapped around the hips, as worn by Christ in many works of art (Figs. 10 and 11). It is known also that Christ in many other productions wore a shift. In the *York Doomsday*, Christ, in a "Sirke [or sark] Wounded" and the Good Souls, highly moral characters, wore "sarks", a type of long shirt.[51]

Humanum Genus successfully resists the Vices until he meets "Covetousness" or Avarice, the sin of the old. Humanum Genus' appearance has deteriorated markedly at this point. This change was important, as the description of Humanum Genus' appearance is quite exact, leaving little area for speculation:

---

50 David Bevington,'"Man, Thinke on thine Endinge Day"..., p.159.

51 Alexandra F. Johnston and M. Rogerson, *York,* R.E.E.D., University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1979, p.55 (York Doomsday play, Mercers 1433). See also Twycross, 'Apparell Comlye', p.39.

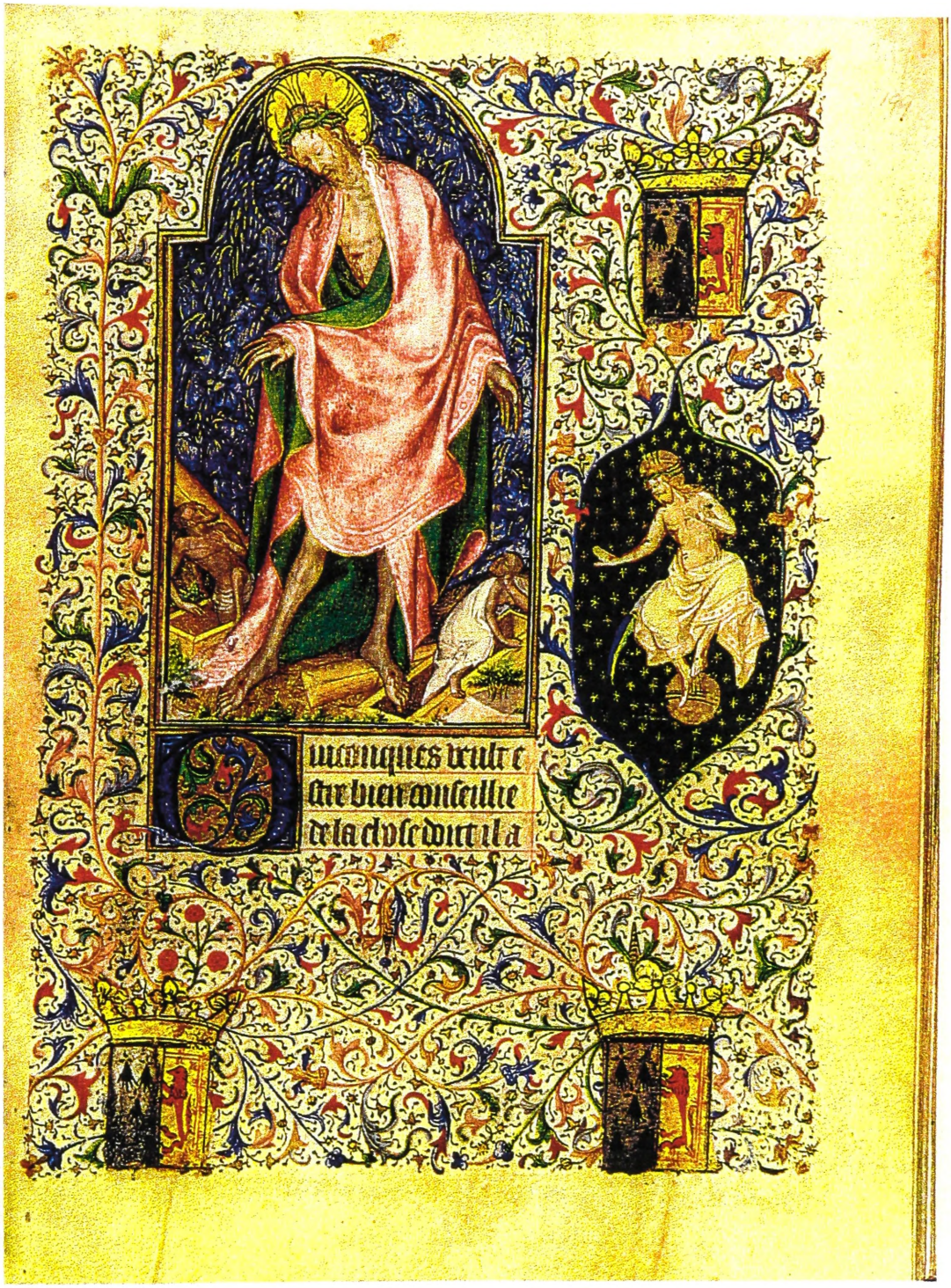

Fig. 10 'Christ as the Man of Sorrows; Christ in Judgement', f.199, *Hours of Isabella Stuart, Duchess of Brittany*, France, c.1417-18 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, ms.62; rpt. in John Harthan, *Books of Hours* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977) p.115.

Fig. 11 'Christ as the Man of Sorrows', f.75r, *The Trés Riches Heures of John, Duke of Berry,* France, c.1411-16 and 1485-90 in the Musée Condé, Chantilly; rpt. in John Harthan, *Books of Hours* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977) p. 63.

I gynne to waxyn hory and olde.
My bake gynnyth to bowe and bende,
I crulle and crepe and wax al colde.
Age makyth man ful vnthende,
Body and bonys and al vnwolde;
My bonys are febyl and sore.
I am arayed in a sloppe,
As a ȝonge man I may not hoppe,
My nose is colde and gynnyth to droppe,
Myn her waxit al hore. (2482-2491)

It may easily be imagined that the actor is bent over as he speaks these words, the very image of an old man. The actions are appropriate to an aged person. If there were an actual costume change to indicate aging, Humanum Genus possibly would wear a wig of dyed grey material, as his "her" is "hore". This wig would probably have been specially styled. If this play were performed by an established company, presumably they would have stocks of wigs of which a number would be suitable for specialist characters such as God, the angels and devils. Possibly there would also be wigs for heroic figures and women but the wig most appropriate for Humanum Genus at this age would be slightly over-long and possibly stringy and wispy. It may be speculated that wigs for God (and the other characters previously mentioned) would have vigorous and abundant hair, whereas it is highly probable that because of Humanum Genus' old age, these wigs would not project a suitable and believable appearance.

It is also possible that the actor who is playing Humanum Genus at this age is wearing a mask. This brings into question the nature of realism in medieval drama. It is possible that Humanum Genus is miming old age in a stylized or stereotypical fashion. It is also equally possible that Humanum Genus is made-up to look as much like an old man as possible. It is also possible that Humanum Genus is wearing a mask to cover his features and make his whole head appear like that of an old man. There is then a paradox, at least for

a modern audience with the stylization of the mask attempting to create the illusion of reality.[52]

An indication that a mask may have been worn comes with the description by Humanum Genus of his nose. It "gynnyth to droppe", either drop liquid, or the shape of the nose is beginning to drop as shown in many traditional illustrations of the old and witches. Often these old people have noses that are bent and hooked. They also have pointy chins that have grown up to meet their noses. There are not many illustrations from the period of *The Castle of Perseverance* that show old men. There are, on the other hand, many examples of this characteristic in masks from the period of the Commedia dell'arte which was well established by 1545, and which had a popular character, Pantaloon, who was an old, avaricious merchant.[53] Pantaloon's mask is described as "gaunt ... and he had a disorderly gray goatee".[54] He is further described as "an abject slave to money" but was "often deceived".[55] The origins of Commedia dell'arte are not entirely known and it is possible that these masks developed from a general caricature of old age, which would account for the similarities between Humanum Genus in East Anglia and Pantaloon in Italy. Humanum Genus and Pantaloon share similar traits: they are both avaricious in their old age and are both deceived.

Humanum Genus is quite explicit about his costume at old age: "I am arayed in a sloppe" (2488). *The Middle English Dictionary* cites "sloppe" or "slop" as "a loose outer garment".[56] This robe would probably have been long and full, as it was occasionally (according to *The Middle English Dictionary*) known as the "oferslop".[57] As these garments are all long, full and made to be worn as an outer garment, it is probable that Humanum Genus would be wearing a type of long, loose gown. Possibly this garment would be white since Humanum Genus first entered the Castle in a state of grace.

---

52 See chapter 2, pp. 47-48 for a more detailed discussion of acting style.
53 *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1989, Vol 3, p.486.
54 *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1989, Vol 9, p. 118.
55 *The Encyclopaedia Britannia* 1989, Vol 9, p. 118.
56 "slop (pe)", Robert E. Lewis and John Reidy (ed.), *The Middle English Dictionary*, Part S.8, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan,1988.
57 "oferslop", *The Middle English Dictionary*, 1988.

When Humanum Genus decides to follow Auaricia, "I forsake þe Castel of Perseueraunce" (2534), he possibly has a costume change since it would be unlikely, iconographically, for Humanum Genus still to be in a long, white robe whilst in the company of the Vices. It would be symbolically accurate, when Humanum Genus is next seen if his once-white robe is besmirched and dirty, indicative of his lack of respect for the Virtues and their beliefs. Since avarice, the sin of greed, would prevent the sinner from expending any wealth on clothes, it would be appropriate to Humanum Genus' sin to have him in the, possibly tattered, remains of the snowy garments he wore when he was with the Virtues. The, possibly now dirty, sloppe would be worn by Humanum Genus to his death, as he died in a state of sin, albeit asking to be "putte ... in Goddys mercy" (3007).

Humanum Genus' costume indicates his moral standing. As a baby, before he choses to accept sin, he is marked as a member of the Christian community, through the crisom on his head. When he becomes a servant of the World, his costume marks him as worldly, through its high fashion. After repentance, his costume again changes.

* * *

II. God and The Virtues

a. God

The lord of the Virtues, God, is a popular character in morality plays. He eventually appears in *The Castle of Perseverance* after line 3245. God is described as being seated in the east. Belsey finds this significant iconographically, as not only do "Medieval maps place Paradise in the east" but many other important locations figure here. For example, altars are in the east end of churches.

"Effigies on medieval tombs, like the effigies beneath them, generally await the resurrection of the body facing east, the source of Christ's Second Coming. Langland places heaven in the east".[58] In this way, the east may be seen to be of great significance in the Christian church. The staging and stage placement in *The Castle of Perseverance* thus had symbolic meaning.

In such a religiously orientated society, God plays a vital role. He must embody all of the values that were held by His people, and His appearance must represent and reinforce these values. This chapter will therefore consider, in detail, the appearance of God and what this might indicate about society.

God is a central character, either seen or unseen, who ultimately has judgement over the outcome of all the action in the plays. There are no details written in either the text itself or in stage directions that give any indication as to the appearance of God (unlike those given for His Daughters). The appearance and costume of God will be considered in contemporary art of the period and the conventions of indicating His age will be discussed. Stage records relating to God will then be discussed, and, in this way, an amalgamated picture of His possible appearance in this play may be formed.[59]

Didron, who has described the various images adopted for the portrayal of God, has traced the designs of the late medieval artists back to the Vision of the Ancient of Days.[60] This Ancient of Days appears throughout Daniel, Chapter 7 and is obviously meant to be an aspect of God, as his dominion "is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away" (verse 14). The Ancient has the Son of man brought to him (verse 13) and presents judgement on all things. It is this final activity that gives the strongest indication of His identity and forms the greatest link between the Ancient of

---

58 Belsey, 'The Stage Plan of *The Castle of Perseverance*', p.130.

59 For the reasoning behind this methodology, see the Introduction chapter, pp.22-24, which discusses the debate as to whether certain artworks were based on theatrical productions or theatrical productions on art.

60 Adolphe Napoléon Didron, *Christian Iconography*, in two volumes, M. Stoke (trans.), George Bell and Sons, London, 1886, and M.D. Anderson, *History and Imagery in British Churches*, John Murray, London, 1971, p. 94.

Days and portrayals of God, especially in the final scene of *The Castle of Perseverance*. Daniel also provides a clear description of the Ancient of Days, when in verse 9, he tells that the Ancient of Days was seated on a throne. His "garment was [as] white as snow, and the hair of his head was like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame". A book of judgement is open before him.

Illustrations of God the Father can be very diverse. Didron relates that God is often shown only as a hand, arm or face.[61] Often it appears as if Jesus the Son is substituted for the Father. One reason, suggested by Didron, for this was that it was an impossible task to attempt the portrayal of a God who created all things: "the idea of such a God, and of attempting to frame His image, might well cause the earlier Christian artists to shrink from the task".[62] Jesus is a much easier subject, having been viewed by people and described in the Gospels, and His image may be said to be accessible to the creation of likenesses.

Didron produces a drawing based on a sarcophagus at the Vatican (which he dates to "the earliest ages of Christianity") where God is shown as a beardless young man, sandalled and dressed in a full white robe. His hair is long and parted in the middle.[63] Didron claims that this may "represent God the Father in the way early Christians [saw him] youthful and beardless in order to represent the unchangeableness of the Deity, who never becomes old, but lives on in perpetual youth".[64] There is no question that these illustrations do indeed represent God the Father, rather than Christ, as may be seen from their context. For example, God is seen thus in conjunction with Adam and Eve, speaking to Noah and giving the tablets of the law to Moses.[65] Didron suggests that God was perhaps shown as having the same appearance as Jesus the Son, based on two verses of scripture. In St John, X, 30, Christ says, "He that seeth me, seeth Him that sent me" and then in St John, X, 38, "The Father is in me and I in Him".

---

61 Didron, Vol. 1, p.20.
62 Didron, p.197.
63 Didron, p.98.
64 Didron, p.172.
65 Didron, p.171.

Didron then relates that by the beginning of the thirteenth century, God the Father is portrayed as having exactly the same features as God the Son. Didron has illustrated this with a drawing based on a French miniature from the beginning of the thirteenth century showing Jesus, God and the Dove (representing the Holy Spirit) where Jesus and the Father have the same features.[66] By the end of this century, the Father is being shown as dissimilar from His son, having slightly different hair styles, but They still appear to be of an age. A drawing by Didron, again based on a French miniature of the close of the thirteenth century, illustrates this.[67] Didron has further dated the complete change of God's appearance to the fourteenth century: "All these singular iconographic changes were made in the course of the fourteenth century, but about 1360, the idea of paternity and filiation became irrevocably fixed". This shows itself in the close resemblance of Jesus the Son to God the Father but God the Father has shorter and less abundant hair, facial lines and receding facial muscles, which cause the cheek bones to be more prominent.[68] There are many illustrations of God thus, and His appearance is quite standard throughout Europe. In the *Hours of Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan* (1388-1428), God is shown as a stern, elderly man with long white hair and beard, dressed in a white robe with a blue coat over the top. In the Legend of the Fleur-de-Lys in the *Bedford Hours* (Paris, c.1423), God is shown sending a blue embroidered cloth (Fig. 12). He is an old man, wearing a crown and a long golden coat over His robe. His hair is long and white, as is His beard. In the 'David Penitent' illustration of the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* (Tours, mid fifteenth century), God is shown as an old man with, again, a long white beard and hair, and a crown (Fig.13). He wears a full, white robe with a cope over it. Despite Didron assuring his readers that the image of God was settled by 1360, a different point of view existed into the seventeenth century, and artists were hesitant to portray God. This hesitancy was not due to uncertainty over the appearance of God, but rather to the concern over the propriety of suggesting any image for God.

---

66 Didron, p.214, fig.59.
67 Didron, p.215, fig.60.
68 Didron, p. 216.

Fig. 12 'Legend of the Fleurs-de-Lys', *Bedford Hours*, Paris, about 1423, Add. ms 18850, f.288v; rpt. in Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London: The British Library, 1988) p.7.

Fig. 13 'David Penitent', *Hours of Etienne Chevalier,* Tours, mid 15th century, Add. ms 27421; rpt. in Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London: The British Library, 1988) p.64.

Images, such as for the Holy family and God, were considered idolatrous and anything popish was disliked as was the Catholic Church generally. At this time, in 1608, part of the post-Reformation Banns were sent to all of the Chester guilds and particularly "[to] all those persones that as godes doe playe/ In clowdes come downe with voyce and not be seene ffor noe man can proportion that godhead I saye/ To the shape of man face, nose and eyne/ But sethence the face gilte doth disfigure the man yat deme/ A clowdye coueringe of the man. a Voyce onlye to heare/ And not god in shape or person to appeare".[69]

There is a great deal of evidence of God appearing as an old man in medieval art. Gail McMurray Gibson has given two clear examples of the appearance of God in art in her work dealing with East Anglia. The first of these art works is a "Vierge ouvrante" or "open Virgin", a painted carving of the Virgin which is hinged and opens to reveal a triptych illustrating the Trinity (Fig. 14). God appears as a sorrowing old man with a lined face. His cheeks are slightly sunken and covered by a long flowing beard and moustache which merge and become hidden by the cross that He is holding to His chest. He has long hair which is swept back from a centre part. God's robe is very long and full and He appears to be wearing a cloak. This is difficult to verify, however, as He is seated and holds the cross in front of Him. His feet appear to be bare, or lightly sandalled, allowing all His toes to be seen, peeping from underneath His robe.[70] Another clear illustration of God from McMurray Gibson's book is from a carving known as *The Annunciation with Christ Child Descending to Mary's Ear* (Fig. 15). As Mary sits reading, Gabriel appears with the news of her selection as the mother of the Saviour. God is seated on a throne over-head, surmounted by a mandorla of flowers or stylized flames. As only His toes may be seen, it is difficult to tell whether He is either bare footed or sandalled. He is wearing a long, full robe with a cloak thrown over

---

69 L.M. Clopper (ed.), *Chester,* REED, University of Toronto Press, Toronto,1979, p.247,(14-20).

70 Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theatre of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1989. She believes that this carving is relevant to East Anglian art given the commercial, and then social, links between Europe and this region.

Fig. 14 'Vierge Ouvrante', Germany, 15th century; rpt. in Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theatre of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989) fig. 6.2.

Fig. 15 'The Annunciation with Christ Child Descending to Mary's Ear', Tympanum over the north door entrance to the Frauenkirche in Würzburg, Germany, 15th century; rpt. in Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theatre of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press) 1989, fig. 6.6.

the top and draped around His arms. He has a long beard (tightly curled) and long shoulder-length hair swept back. In His left hand He holds what appears to be an urn and in His right hand He holds the pipe down which Christ is sliding, towards Mary's ear.

On first inspection it appears as if there is quite an amount of recorded costume evidence dealing with God. It is questionable, however, that costumes mentioned in records are actually for Him. References in the Coventry Smith's account of guild activities for 1499 indicate that God wore a "kote of leddur". Probably this costume is intended for Christ.[71] Differentiation between Christ as Deity in Heaven and God may not perhaps have existed for the medieval citizen, since both Christ and God were members of the one trinity.[72] They were, however, differentiated between when represented pictorially. The plays that the individual companies performed and the symbolism of the individual characters would have been well-enough known, so that defining in the stage directions which deity in the Trinity wore which individual costume would have been unnecessary. Further evidence showing that God and Jesus were often both referred to by the term "God" and that they both wore similar costumes showing their divine relationship comes from a 1392 reference to the spectacle that was Richard II's Reconciliation with the City of London, where "a young man representing God Himself [appears]: a radiant light, in appearance like the Sun, was his. He bore a blazing face and snow white robes".[73] There is a heraldic device from the northwest window of Newark church (Nottinghamshire) showing the arms of the Holy Trinity which demonstrates the medieval Christian attitude to the Trinity.[74] The arms are in the shape of a shield and

---

[71] See pages 80-81 for a full discussion of this instance and for the confusion between the terms used for God and Christ.

[72] When Christ is Jesus the man, there would, of course, be significant differences, as indicated above, with, for example, the body suit.

[73] Richard Maydiston, 'De Concordia inter Ricardum II et Civitatem London', in Thomas Wright (ed.), *Political Poems and Songs,* Vol. 1, Rolls Series, Camden Society, Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, London, 1859, p.293. It is translated by Meg Twycross and Sarah Carpenter, 'Masks in Medieval English Theatre: the Mystery Plays 2', *Medieval English Theatre,* Vol 3, 1981, p.98. The original is "Supra sedebat eos juvenis, quasi sit Deus ipse/ Lux radiosa sibi solis ad instar inest./ Flammigerum vultum gerit hic, niveas quoque vestes".

[74] Reproduced in Anderson, p. 94.

have in the top left hand corner a circled "Pater". In the top right-hand corner is a circled "Filius" and the base has a circled "Spiritus Sanctus". These circled words are linked by a Y shape, each arm of which bears the word "est". The apex of the Y bears the circled word "Deus", indicating the philosophy that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are all aspects of God.

God is a character who does not change, he is immutable, but his representation does change, as seen in the evidence presented by Didron. In sum, God was first represented as a young, beardless man by the early Christians. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, God and Christ were shown to be visually alike. By 1360, God is shown as an older man with Christ as His son. Why was it that around 1360 there was a shift and God was shown to be mature in appearance? It may perhaps have been that, at this time, society was again in a state of change after the Black Death and the collapse of the feudal system. The immutability of God can not be equated with change, and while unjustifiable change is the domain of the young (one manifestation of this being fashion), conservatism is that of the elderly. Humanum Genus, as a young man, accepts the sinful life and undertakes personal changes. These changes include rejecting God's plans for him and rejecting his rightful place in Christian society (after his baptism). He changes his social class and his loyalties shift so that self is his primary concern. These changes are illustrated through his costume change. Youth also is often seen as a period for foolishness and, as can be seen through Humanum Genus' actions, this foolishness could lead to sin. It was therefore inappropriate to have God appearing in a youthful guise.

By following this argument, it may be seen that the perceptions of the conservative may have been turned against the young, believing them responsible for the unwelcome changes happening in their community. As a reaction to this perception (which occurs in art and drama, as seen in the evidence relating to the gallant) God appears as a wise old man.

The costumes in the artworks previously described are probably what the character, God, wore in the productions. It is known definitely what God wore in a 1583 production in Lucerne. God, the Father, is "to have the usual halo (Diadema)." He should be "Handsome, like an old man with gray hair and beard". He is to have "An orb in his hand (Rychs opffel) ... He should be dressed in an alb and over it a costly choir cope (chor Cappen)."[75] This is an interesting, albeit standard, combination of regal majesty and religious authority, highly appropriate in *The Castle of Perseverance* for one who sits in moral judgement of Humanum Genus at his end.

There are no complete records of God the Father's costume from East Anglia at this period, or of what He would have worn in this play, but it may be assumed that the costume would satisfy certain iconographic conventions. It is possible that, given the importance of the feudal hierarchy in this play, God would have had a costume that emphasised his nature as ultimate king of the universe and have been dressed accordingly as a king in majesty, the king being the pinnacle of the feudal system. This costume would serve to reiterate the power of the king of England, an issue at question after the 1381 Peasants' Revolt. It is equally possible, however, that the producer of this play was striving to differentiate his God from the worldly and corrupt lords and therefore had his God dressed in religious robes which emphasised His position as the King of Heaven. Having God dressed in the robes of a religious would reinforce the moral strength of God and would allow the audience to anticipate the final debate over Humanum Genus' soul. Perhaps these robes were like those worn by highly placed religious, such as a bishop or the Pope. It is possible, therefore, given the iconographic strength of both of these arguments, that God was indeed dressed in a costume that recalled both the majesty of a (worldly) king and His position as a Heavenly being, much like the description of the God from 1583 Lucerne production mentioned above.

---

75 Full records of the Lucerne, 1583 production, are reproduced in Meredith and Tailby, p.130.

In the Lucerne production, God wore an alb with a cope covering it. There are many references to the use of albs in the theatre. The *Coventry* REED volume, for example, has many references to albs, particularly to the washing of them.[76] While there are references to the albs belonging to angels, many references mention no character. Albs appear to be a generic item. If God is dressed as a member of the upper clergy, He would have worn an alb as a base garment. It is also possible that God wore a gilded leather coat ("Paid to Hewyt for payntyng and gylldyng...Godes cote...ijs vjd"), either instead of, or in addition to, an alb.[77] Twycross and Carpenter have commented that the gilding illustrates His divinity.[78] It is possible that God had a gilded face or perhaps wore a gilded mask. There are many references to God's face having this treatment. In York in 1433, there is an account "for god... With a veserne gilted" and one for Christ, of equal divinity.[79] The Chester Shoemakers and Cordwainers in 1549-50 "paid ffor geyldeng godes ffase & ffor peyntyng of the geylers ffasses...xijd".[80] In 1553-4, the Smiths, Cutters and Plumbers of Chester also paid 12d but this was for the "gelldinge of Gods fase" only.[81] The Cordwainers and Shoemakers accounts of 1561-2 record "the gyldynge of godes fase [was] xd", indicating that the Shoemakers and Cordwainers were perhaps able to bargain more successfully for their gilding than the Smiths, Cutters and Plumbers.[82] In the York Curriers' *Transfiguration,* lines 97 to 98 describe the divine figure: "His clothing is white as the snow/ His face shining as the sun", indicating perhaps some device to cause the face to shine.[83] One of the most obvious ways to do this would be by using paint, although the records of the fifteenth century mention large amounts of metallic and coloured foils. The Coventry Smiths in 1477 had an "Item for Assadyn, silver papur & gold papur, gold foyle & grene

---

76 R.W Ingram (ed.),*Coventry*, R.E.E.D., for example, p.98 (34), p.162 (23), p.163 (30), p.170 (20 &35), p. 486 (9&13), p.487 (3).
77 R.W Ingram (ed.),*Coventry*, R.E.E.D.,1565, p.231.
78 Twycross and Carpenter, p.99.
79 Johnston and Rogerson (ed.), *York,* R.E.E.D., p.55.
80 Clopper (ed.), *Chester,* R.E.E.D., p.50.
81 Clopper, (ed.),*Chester,* R.E.E.D., p.53.
82 Clopper, (ed.),*Chester,* R.E.E.D., p.68.
83 J.S. Purvis, *The York Cycle of Mystery Plays*, SPCK, London, 1957, p.116 (97-98).

ffoyle...ijs jd".[84] The "faces" (either masks or make-up), according to Twycross and Carpenter, were gilded with "gold leaf, or possibly with party gold, an alloy of gold with silver or other metals"; paint seems to have been rarely used.[85]

The gilding served a two-fold purpose, according to Twycross and Carpenter in their article dealing with masks and their effects in the medieval theatre. The gilding of God's face is a simple iconographic device intended to illustrate Revelations 1:16, "his countenance was as the Sun shineth in his strength", and the medieval producer made this phenomenon possible by gilding the face, probably by applying gold leaf, the king of metals, directly to the face. A gilded mask may also have been used. Twycross' own experiments have shown that simple gold paint is too dull to give the impression of 'shining'.[86]

Possibly the choice between a mask or direct gilding over the face for God and divine characters would have been an economic one. It is difficult to determine which the choice would have been from the records existing today. There appear to be no records that will allow a determination of the cost of a gilded mask for God, so that it may be compared to the costs of direct gilding on the face (see costs of this on previous page). It is difficult also to use the costs of masks of other characters, as different characters have different requirements. From the Accounts of the Coventry Smiths which show new masks being made for the devil in 1495, 1543 and 1576, one might conclude that either the producers frequently updated their ideas on the appearance of such a character, that the actors who played this character were very physical, or that the masks were frequently damaged, which would be likely with the use of fireworks.[87] On the other hand, records, again from the Coventry Smiths, show Herod's mask being repaired only (1516, 1547 and 1554).[88]

---

84 R.W Ingram (ed.),*Coventry*, R.E.E.D., p.68.

85 Twycross and Carpenter, 'Masks in Medieval English Theatre: the Mystery Plays 1', *Medieval English Theatre,* Vol 3, 1981, p.16.

86 Twycross and Carpenter, 17.

87 See pages 109-111 for reference to these fireworks.

88 The Coventry Smiths paid viijd for "dressyng of the devells hede" in 1495, R.W Ingram (ed.),*Coventry*, R.E.E.D., p.84; the Coventry Cappers in 1543 then "Paid for

While it may be assumed that the actor playing God would have been careful with his (hypothetical) mask, and therefore only needed it to be refurbished rather than replaced, it is impossible, as stated, to compare the costs of the manufacture of such a mask and its gilding with the continuing costs of direct gilding onto the face of the actor playing God.

As indicated, God probably had long hair and a beard. It is also possible that these were gilded. Certain characters of great divinity had golden wigs: "Item, ij cheverels gyld for Jhe & Petur" (Coventry Smiths, 1490).[89] In York in 1433, the Mercers record that their "iiij Apostels...[wore] iiij chevelers of yalow".[90] It is, again, impossible to determine whether this is a common occurrence, as very few records mention the colour of the wigs and for whom they are intended.

God the Father in *The Castle of Perseverance* may have worn a pristine white alb, either owned or borrowed. He may have worn a cloak or other more worldly garment over the top, either white or gilded and a crown. He would probably be wearing a beard and have long hair, either gilded, white or grey. God would certainly be seated on a throne in the east of the playing area.

The social values embodied by God are therefore immutability, wise old age and divine rule. These characteristics show Him to be the antithesis of Humanum Genus, and the characters' costumes juxtaposed serve to reinforce the author's conservatism and regret at the passing of feudal society.

---

making ye demones head...xviijd", p.163. "Vs" was "payd to harrye Benett for mendynge the demonn cote & makyng the head" by the Cappers also, in 1562, p.220. The Coventry Smiths paid for "mendyng of herodes heed...iiijd" in 1516, p.111. In 1547 they further paid for "menddyng of Herrode Hed...ijs", p.177. The Smiths, in 1554 then "payd to John Hewet, paynter, for dressyng of Errod hed and the faychon, ijs", p.200.

89 R.W Ingram (ed.),*Coventry*, R.E.E.D., p.74.

90 Johnston and Rogerson (ed.), *York*, R.E.E.D., p.55.

* * *

b. Angels

Angels often accompany God and may perhaps be considered lesser divinities. According to Humanum Genus in line 304, the Good Angel "cam fro Criste" and is there to teach him "goode". The Good Angel, as tradition and iconography dictate, stands on the right-hand side of Humanum Genus (line 303), just as traditionally Jesus stands to the right hand of His Father.

As certain works of visual art may have been based on dramatic productions, it is beneficial to consider contemporary illustrations of angels. Since there are many, consideration will only be given to artworks from the East Anglian area at the time of *The Castle of Perseverance*. The two artworks considered will be the *Annunciation with Descending Christ Child*, a painted, stained-glass window panel from the fifteenth century in the parish church of St. Peter Mancroft in Norwich, and *The Assumption of the Virgin Mary,* another fifteenth century painted and stained-glass window in the parish church of St. Peter and St. Paul, East Harling, Norfolk. These two pieces were chosen firstly because of their locality (Norwich being the major city of East Anglia and therefore a likely destination for many travellers and East Harling, a typical village) and secondly because of their clarity (paint remains on glass undiminished, unlike paint on wood or canvas, which tends to flake and peel).

The window of the *Annunciation with Descending Christ Child* was made in the Norwich workshops (according to McMurray Gibson) and would therefore probably have been made by a local craftsman for a local patron (Fig.16). This window may therefore reveal how angels were viewed in East Anglia. The particular angel shown is the Archangel Gabriel, who kneels at Mary's right, on the left of the window. His hair is fair, curled and quite long and he wears a cross-surmounted crown. His garments are recognisable as

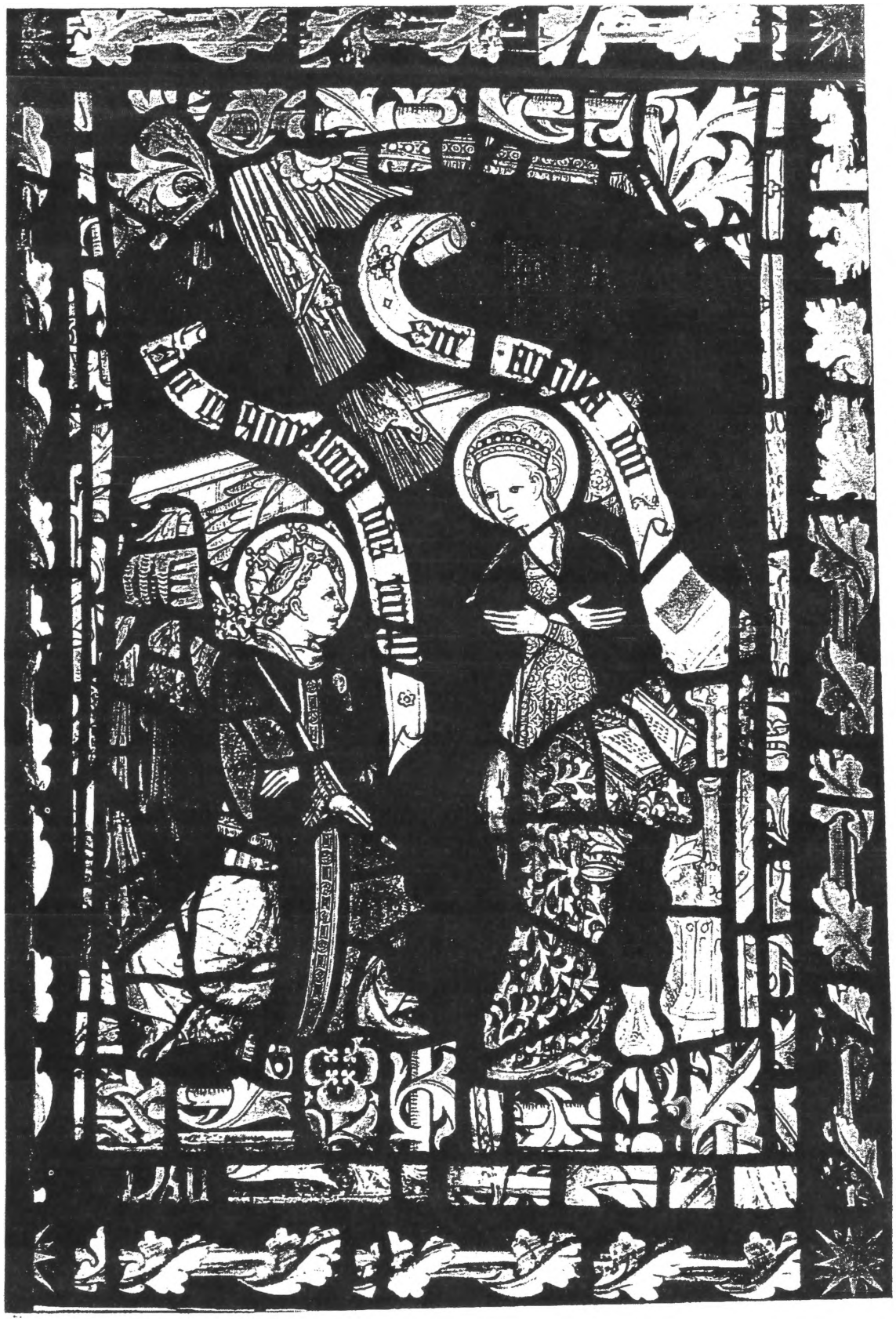

Fig. 16 'Annunciation with Descending Christ Child', St Peter Mancroft church, Norwich, 15th century; rpt. in Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theatre of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989) fig. 6.5.

vestments. A white alb may be seen covering his legs and feet and he wears a cope and a stole. The braid decorating these vestments is quite elaborate and appears to be fringed. The angel has wings folded behind and over him. These wings are in rows of feathers layered over other rows and are quite distinct. This is unlike the impression given by the feathers of a bird which often tend to merge, possibly indicating that the artistic depiction is based on a dramatic representation of Gabriel, in which the actor wore artificial wings. The ends of these wings have long, staggered feathers attached, that extend from Gabriel's shoulder to his knees.

The Assumption of the Virgin Mary shows five angels, two (one above the other) to the left of Mary, two to the right (one above the other also here) and one under her feet, making a pleasingly ordered composition, appropriate to the order of Heaven (Fig. 17). The top two angels, those closest to the crown about to descend on to Mary's head, also wear crowns. Possibly the placement of the angels indicates differentiated status, perhaps the crowned angels are Governors and the others are Counsellors. The prevailing medieval viewpoint about the status of angels was based on the work of St Dionysius the Areopagite, who divided the angels into three distinct hierarchical groups. The warlike Ministers are the highest group and include the archangels. The second group is the Governors and the final group is the Counsellors which includes the Seraphim and Cherubim. These angels were differentiated by their dress and, from the artworks above, the wearing of crowns, another form of demarcation between the angels.

There are many records pertaining to the costuming of angels in albs, particularly in relation to the garments being washed after the performance.[91] The appearance of the angels in art and drama from surviving records across the medieval period in Europe and Britain, is remarkably similar, with only minor variations.

---

91 R.W Ingram (ed.),*Coventry*, R.E.E.D., See previous reference in the section dealing with God.

Fig. 17 'The Assumption of the Virgin Mary', 15th century window of St Peter and St Paul parish church, East Harling, Norfolk; rpt. in Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theatre of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989) fig. 6.21.

Angels are spirits who have been described as "participants in the Creation" and, as such, they are linked to God, the Creator.[92] They are also often given the attributes of birds, possessing wings and being able to fly. Birds also have very strong iconographical links to Judaism and Christianity, since they appear extensively in the Bible. It was a bird who brought news to Noah that the flood had subsided and it was also a dove, the Spirit of God, that descended from Heaven at the Baptism of Jesus. As it is the angel who often carries the word of God, for example, in the Annunciation, Lord Raglan, who has written extensively about traditional myths and drama, believes that angels, portrayed by boys, were ritually dressed as birds with wings, confirming the link between birds and God.[93] Twycross mentioned that angels were known to wear "feathered catsuits", but unfortunately she does not give further details.[94] I believe that the evidence for both of these statements may be found in East Anglian churches. Glass from the Norwich school of glass-painters from the fifteenth century shows an angel carrying a harp. From below his sleeves and beneath the hem of his belted tunic, it can be seen that his arms and legs are covered by a suit to which feathers have been attached (Fig. 18). Two angels in the Celestial orchestra (the angel carrying the lute in Cawston, Norfolk, and the angel with the bagpipes in St Peter Hungate, Norwich) are also shown in a similar costume (Figs. 19 and 20). It may be that only the angel musicians wore the feathered suits, and perhaps only in East Anglia. Anne Eljenholm Nichols uses St Dionysius' work on the degrees of angels and says that ranking is evident not only in what the angels wear but also in their size (this is particularly clear in art). She has found that feathered angels are of lesser moral degree than dressed angels since they are pictured smaller in size.[95] It is possible that feathered angels are of a lesser rank and dressed in this way because angels dressed all in feathers are more animalistic and therefore less like God (and humanity, who was formed in His image).[96] Crowned, dressed

---

92 *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1989, Vol 17, p.382.

93 Lord Raglan, *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama*, Watts and Co., London, 1936, p.261.

94 Twycross, 'Apparell Comely', p.31.

95 Eljenholm Nichols, p. 308.

96 Eljenholm Nichols has taken her evidence solely from art. She claims that such a costume is represented on the font at Brook, East Anglia, but gives no illustration,

Fig. 18 'Angel with Harp' from the Norwich school of glass-painters, 15th century, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; rpt. in Brian Coe, *Stained Glass in England: 1150-1550* (London: W. H. Allen, 1981) p.23.

Fig. 19 'The Celestial Orchestra: Lute', Cawston, Norfolk; rpt. in Brian Coe, *Stained Glass in England: 1150-1550* (London: W. H. Allen, 1981) p.88.

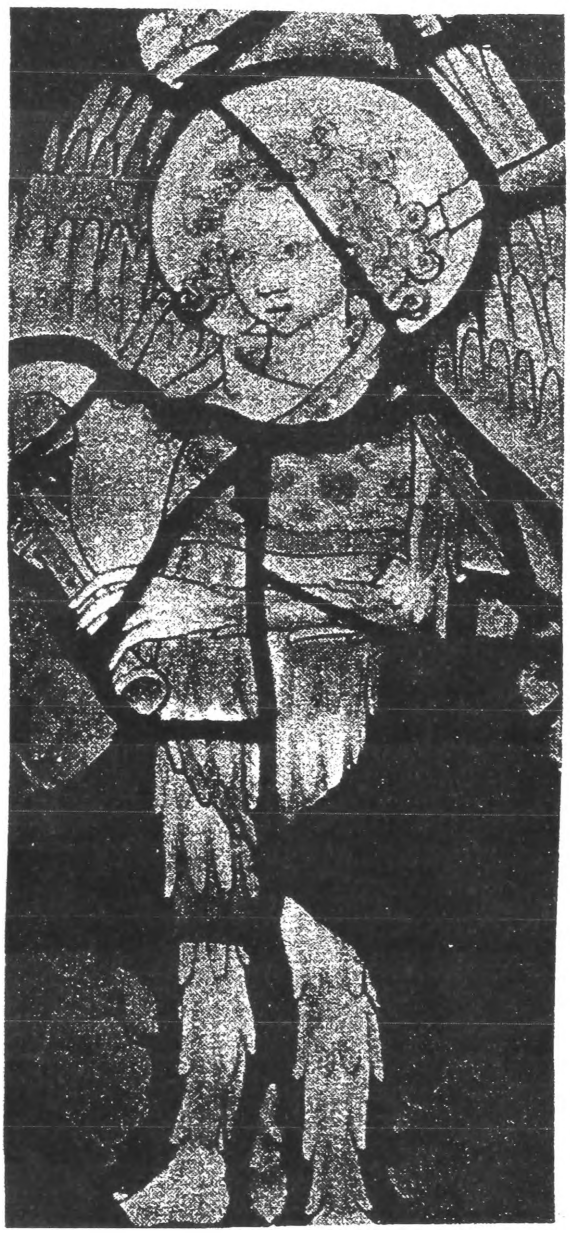

Fig. 20 'The Celestial Orchestra: Bagpipes', St. Peter Hungate, Norwich; rpt. in Brian Coe, *Stained Glass in England: 1150-1550* (London: W. H. Allen, 1981) p. 89.

angels would be of the next highest degree, closer still to God. Since the Good Angel of *The Castle of Perseverance* is entrusted with the task of advising Humanum Genus and being his conscience, it is likely, based on the hierarchy of St Dionysius, that the good angel belongs to the Governor class.

It is generally believed that actors playing angels wore albs.[97] Eljenholm Nichols has reported that Good Angels wore "alb[s], with or without amice[s]" and they were sometimes shown winged (on screen paintings). Craik argues that angels wore albs, possibly with coats over the top. These coats were made from buckram, not the stiffened fabric of today, but (according to Twycross) "a fine cotton material, used for vestments".[98] In the Coventry records (Cappers 1577), winged angels were clad in albs and other clerical vestments, such as surplices.[99] James Laver argues that these angels also wore gilded suits but I have been unable to find any evidence of this.[100] There is an account, however, of the "triumphal Entry into the city of London" by Henry V which describes angels "in pure white".[101] Many of the albs were probably borrowed by acting companies rather than being directly owned. Twycross supposes that no references to the purchasing or manufacture of albs exist because they were supposedly "borrow[ed] from a co-operative chaplain who charged nothing and so did not get into the accounts".[102] After the Dissolution in 1534 the situation was reversed, as, according to the *Cumberland, Westmorland and Gloucestershire* R.E.E.D volume, in Tewkesbury in the year 1577 it was possible to hire one of seven albs or surplices, as many

---

p.308. Eljenholm Nichols assumes that these costumes probably did not have individual feathers attached to them but that they were perhaps painted as this would make a more durable costume.

97 It is more likely that they are wearing albs than wearing feathered cat suits, as 1) There is only very limited evidence of angels wearing these feathered suits; 2) Those that do wear this costume appear to be musicians; 3) There are no roles in the plays for musician angels; 4) There are no existing records of feathered suits being made; 5) An alb is more durable, washable and accessible than a feathered cat suit.

98 Thomas W. Craik, *The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume and Acting*, Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1958, p.53 and Twycross "Apparell Comely", p.36.

99 R.W Ingram (ed.),*Coventry*, R.E.E.D., p.283.

100 James Laver, *Costume in the Theatre,* George G. Harrap and co., London, 1964, p.47

101 Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell (ed. and trans.), *Gesta Henrici Quinti; The Deeds of Henry V,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1975, 104-5.

102 Twycross, 'Apparell Comely' p.41.

vestments by this time had been sold. These albs were mentioned in the St Mary the Virgin's Churchwardens accounts and are listed alongside "five players gownes" indicating that the albs were also perhaps used for the "players".[103]

The weight of evidence, together with the absence of any contradictory information, indicates that angels wore albs which were probably white, since this colour would be symbolically correct.[104]

In art, angels tend to have long, arranged, fair hair. Twycross and Carpenter comment that "angels ... have long locks, very probably, as in *Dives and Pauper*, 'in tokene þat here thoughtys and here loue beth set alwey in ryght ordre and turnyn alwey vp aȝen to God'".[105] The fashionable male haircut at the time of *The Castle of Perseverance* has been described as "a most unattractive style: the hair was curled under all around the head, with no parting, and was very short, being above ear level. The back and side hair was then shaved up to the hair line".[106] Since the hairstyle for angels was long, to the collar and curled, the actor who played the Good Angel would probably have had to wear a wig. The York Mercer's 1433 wardrobe list records that angels wear wigs and it is known that in 1429, the play of *St. George* had angels in that production wearing wigs: "Item: for the wigs of the heads of the angels and the souls, eighteen cloth bases (goiffes de toilles)".[107] Hemp or silk may perhaps have been sewn on these bases. Craik believes that the angels' wigs would have been sewn from yellow silk.[108] In

---

103 Audrey Douglas and Peter Greenfield, *Cumberland, Westmorland and Gloucestershire* R.E.E.D., University of Toronto Press, Toronto, p.337.

104 For more information on this, refer to the chapter dealing with *Wisdom.*

105 Twycross and Carpenter, 'Masks in Medieval English Theatre: the Mystery Plays 1', *Medieval English Theatre,* Vol 3, 1981, p.18.

106 Yarwood, p.86.

107 Johnston and Rogerson (ed.), *York*, R.E.E.D, p.55. This record was compiled in Thonon and is dated April 8, 1429. It is from the property list for the play of St George performed in Turin and records may be found as part of the royal accounts of Chambrey, Savoy. It was originally reprinted in G. Boffito 'Antica Drammatica Piementese', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. 30, 1897, pp.377-46, translation from second edition by Meredith and Tailby, p.112.

108 Craik, p.53. Craik mentions that "...yellow silk hair of an angel were among the properties of Queens' College, Cambridge, and were listed among the bursarial accounts some time between 1549 and 1555". Craik does not however give an exact reference to this record.

Cambridge, silk was used for the wigs, since "ij yelow heres of sylke" was listed in the Trinity College Inventory of 1550-1.[109] In Leicester in 1504, and again in 1507, there are records which list payments "for a pound of hemp to mend the angels heads, iiij d", an indication perhaps that angels in Leicester at this time had wigs made from this fibre.[110] Richard II's Reconciliation with the City of London in 1392 featured a procession with angels who probably had gilded faces: "Sicque micat facies juvenum tam in his quam in illis,/ Fiat ut extaticus intime respiciens".[111] It is possible angels' faces were gilded or the actors were masked, but East Anglian art offers no evidence either way.

As stated above, it is likely that the angels in *The Castle of Perseverance* had wings. Coventry has two records which show that wings were made for angels in their theatrical productions. The Coventry Drapers account for 1541: 1543 (Ingram has conflicting evidence for the dating of this record, and therefore has resorted to this form of notification of dates) has "It for peynting & making new iiij peire of Angells wyngs" and "Itm payd for iiij pare of angyllys wyngys... ij s viij d".[112] The York Mercers' wardrobe list of 1433 also shows that wings were being used for angels.[113] In 1461 the York Mercers either needed extra pairs of wings or no longer owned those of 1443, as they were still hiring their wings from someone who was known to have a stock of them for hire ("for Boroweng of Angell wengs").[114] While there does not seem to be an argument as to whether wings were worn, there may be some question about the colour of the wings. It is possible that the wings were white as this would be appropriate for the virtue of the angel, but this is mere speculation. The feathers in the wings must

---

[109] Alan H. Nelson (ed.), *Cambridge,* R.E.E.D., University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1989, p.171.

[110] This record, from the Leicester church of St Mary's, is reproduced in Chambers, Vol.II, p.376.

[111] Richard Maydiston 'De Concordia inter Ricardum II et Civitatem London', in Thomas Wright (ed.), *Political Poems and Songs*, p.293. It may be translated as "The faces of the young people shine, now in this way, and now in that, as if their looking were very ecstatic."

[112] Ingram (ed.),*Coventry*, R.E.E.D., pp.474 &468.

[113] "...ij paire Aungell wynges"; Johnston & Rogerson (ed.),*York*, R.E.E.D., p.55.

[114] Johnston & Rogerson (ed.),*York*, R.E.E.D., p.92. I am presuming that these wings were actually hired since the record appears as part of the financial accounts. See also chapter 2 for the use of borrowed and hired costumes.

occasionally have been dyed or painted, as there are illustrations which show coloured, rather than white feathers.[115] Coloured-winged angels may clearly be seen on f.101 verso of *The Luttrell Psalter* (1320-40) where three angels sounding the last trump on the day of judgement have gold, red, blue and mauve wings (Fig. 21). Their garments match these colours. While there is no evidence to suggest what colour garments the Good Angel is wearing, he may be in simple white as this would be of the greatest contrast to the costume of the Bad Angel, discussed later in this chapter. It would further allow the audience to distinguish this character from the worldliness of the three Enemies and would serve to link the angel in white to God, who is also perhaps in white. This colour linking would then serve to indicate the idea of the lord (God) with his servant dressed in his colours and/ or livery (the Good Angel).

* * *

c. The Four Daughters of God

In *The Castle of Perseverance,* after God, the characters of the greatest divinity would be His Daughters. The Four Daughters of God are Mercy, Justice, Truth, and Peace, and these daughters and their great debate are not unique to *The Castle of Perseverance.* The first record of them comes from Psalm 84:11 "Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi; Iustitia et Pax osculatae sunt" ('Mercy and Truth have met, Justice and Peace have kissed'). A story is told of the Daughters in which a servant is accused of a crime and imprisoned. The daughters debate his fate and the son (a prefigurement of Christ) takes the servant's sentence upon himself, a reference to the Redemption of Man.[116] *The Castle of Perseverance* ends with the

---

115 Probably the feathers would have been from a duck or goose, a bird that would have been quite accessible to the producers of the plays.

116 Michael E. Ralston, 'The Four Daughters of God in *The Castell of Perseverance*', *Comitatus,* Vol. 15, 1984, pp.35-44, has a complete listing of the occurrences and variations of this story. See also Hope Traver, *The Four Daughters of God; A Study of*

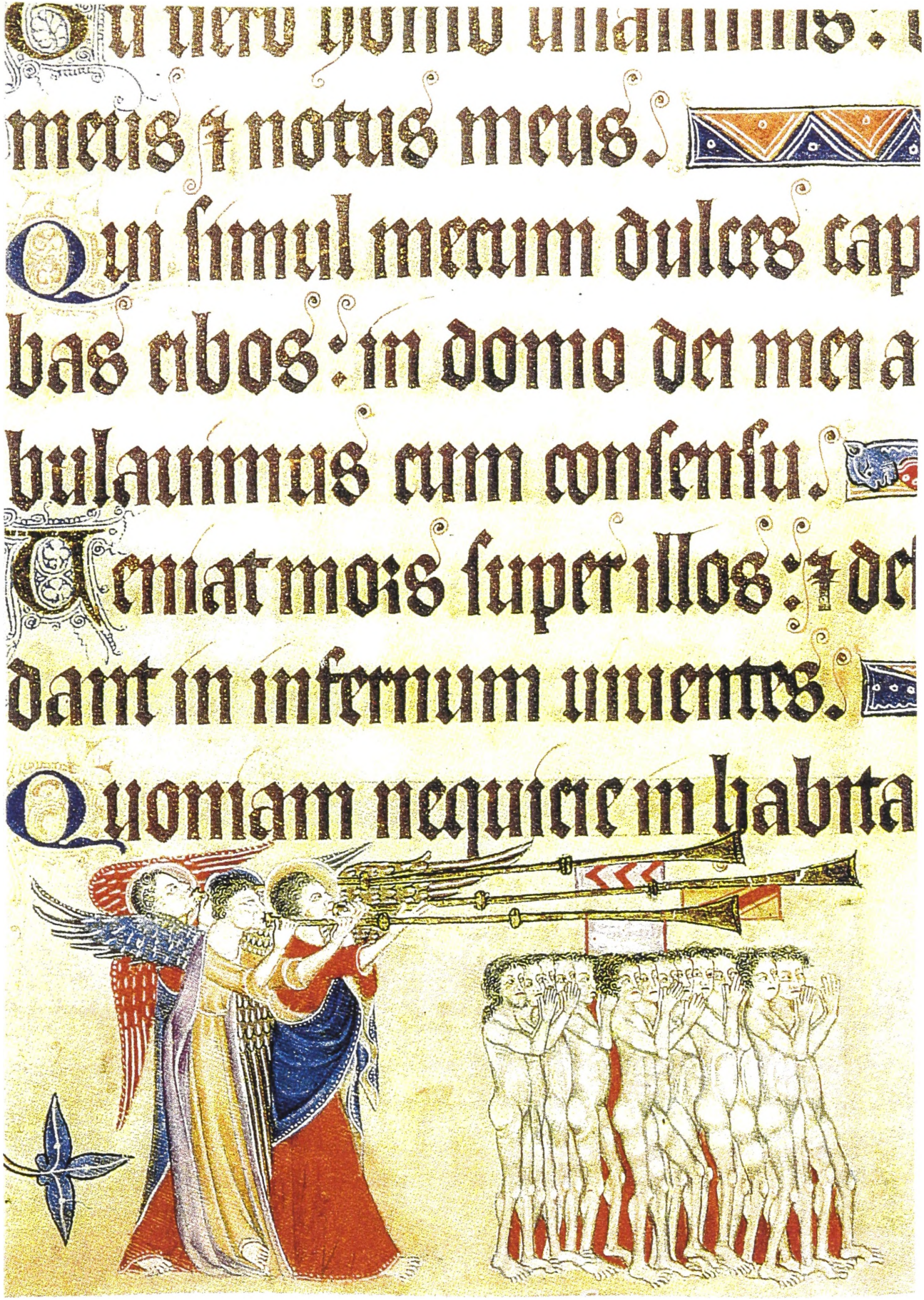

Fig. 21 'Angels sounding the last trump on the Day of Judgement', *The Luttrell Psalter*, f.101 verso, Add. ms 42130, Lincolnshire, early 14th century; rpt. in Janet Backhouse, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London: The British Library Board, 1989) fig. 74.

debate, the reconciliation of the Daughters and the arbitration of God.

Riggio has commented that Justice is the elder of the Daughters and Mercy and Peace are younger.[117] The idea that Justice and Truth are the older sisters is probably based on the Bible, where the Old Testament stresses a God who demands strict justice and truth. The New Testament, with the stories of Jesus Christ, emphasises mercy and peace as Christian characteristics. This also equates with the Daughters' actions in the play, as Justice and Truth are the challengers of Humanum Genus and Mercy and Peace are the defenders.

The costumes for the Four Daughters are described in the notes attached to the text, "þe iiij dowterys schul be clad in mentelys, Mercy in wyth, rythwysnesse in red altogedyr, Trewthe in sad grene, and Pes al in blake."

Mercy wears white, an appropriate colour as it not only indicates purity, chastity, life, innocence, faith and joy, but is the colour of surrender, an action that must be undertaken if mercy is to be achieved.[118] Tydeman has added that it is also the "hue of atonement and forgiveness".[119] Justice, or "rythwysnesse", wears red completely. Red, the colour of blood, represents strength and vitality and is the colour worn by officiating clergy in the Roman Catholic Church to celebrate martyrs' feast days.[120] It is possible that Justice also carries a sword and scales, since this is how she is commonly portrayed, at least in art, with the sword of punishment, the scales of determination and the blindfold of impartiality. Raphael (1483-1520) portrays Justice thus on a

---

the Versions of this Allegory with Especial References to those in Latin, French and English, Monograph Series 6, Bryn Mawr College Monographs, Philadelphia, 1907, and Émile Male, *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France,* Libraire Armand Colin, Paris, 1931, p.13.

[117] Riggio, p. 201.

[118] Ralph Fabri, *Color; A Complete Guide For Artists* , Watson Guptill Publications, New York, 1967, pp 62-64, includes a general overview of colour symbolism in history.

[119] Tydeman, *English Medieval Theatre 1400-1500,* p.89.

[120] Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes,* Bloomsbury Publishing, London, 1981, pp.195-6.

Fig. 22 'Detail of Justice', by Raphael, ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican Palace; rpt. in E. H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance II* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1972) fig. 70.

ceiling in the Stanza della Segnatura (Fig. 22). Nicoló da Bologna has also shown Justice in a similar way (Fig. 23). She is wearing fashionable garments and is holding a sword in her right hand, but in her left, she holds a book. There is no indication that these properties were used in *The Castle of Perseverance*, although these may have been so widely accepted an image that mentioning the sword and scales or book was not necessary. The producer/author saw the colour symbolism to be of prime importance, since this is what is indicated.

"Pes" or Peace, is "al in blake". Black is the colour of death, and, as such, it represents an end to turmoil, confusion and human activity.[121] Peace also, by her very name, represents the calm of death, and as such, it is appropriate that she stands, with her sister Mercy, to mourn for Humanum Genus. As she represents the New Testament, with its hope after the Resurrection, it is also appropriate for these two sisters to be representing Humanum Genus to God.

Truth wears "sad" green. Presumably, "sad" refers to a particular shade of green. This green would not be a bright green, as this symbolizes hope, Spring and jealousy, nor would it be a pale green, traditionally worn by priests at baptisms.[122] Truth most likely wore a dark green which, according to Fabri, is the colour of consistency.[123]

While there is little dispute concerning the colours worn by the Daughters of God, the nature of their dress is hypothetical. The author/ producer has indicated that the Daughters are to be dressed in mantles, a type of cloak, long, often open and worn over a robe. By the early fourteenth century, the estimated time of the writing of *The Castle of Perseverance,* mantles were worn only on State or formal occasions, with the houppelande obviating the need for

---

121 Lurie, pp.187-91.
122 Lurie, pp. 200-201 and C.L Daniels and C.M Stevens, *Encyclopaedia of Superstitions, Folklore and the Occult Sciences of the World*, Vol III, Gale Research Company, Detroit, 1971, pp. 1598-1601.
123 Fabri, pp. 62-64.

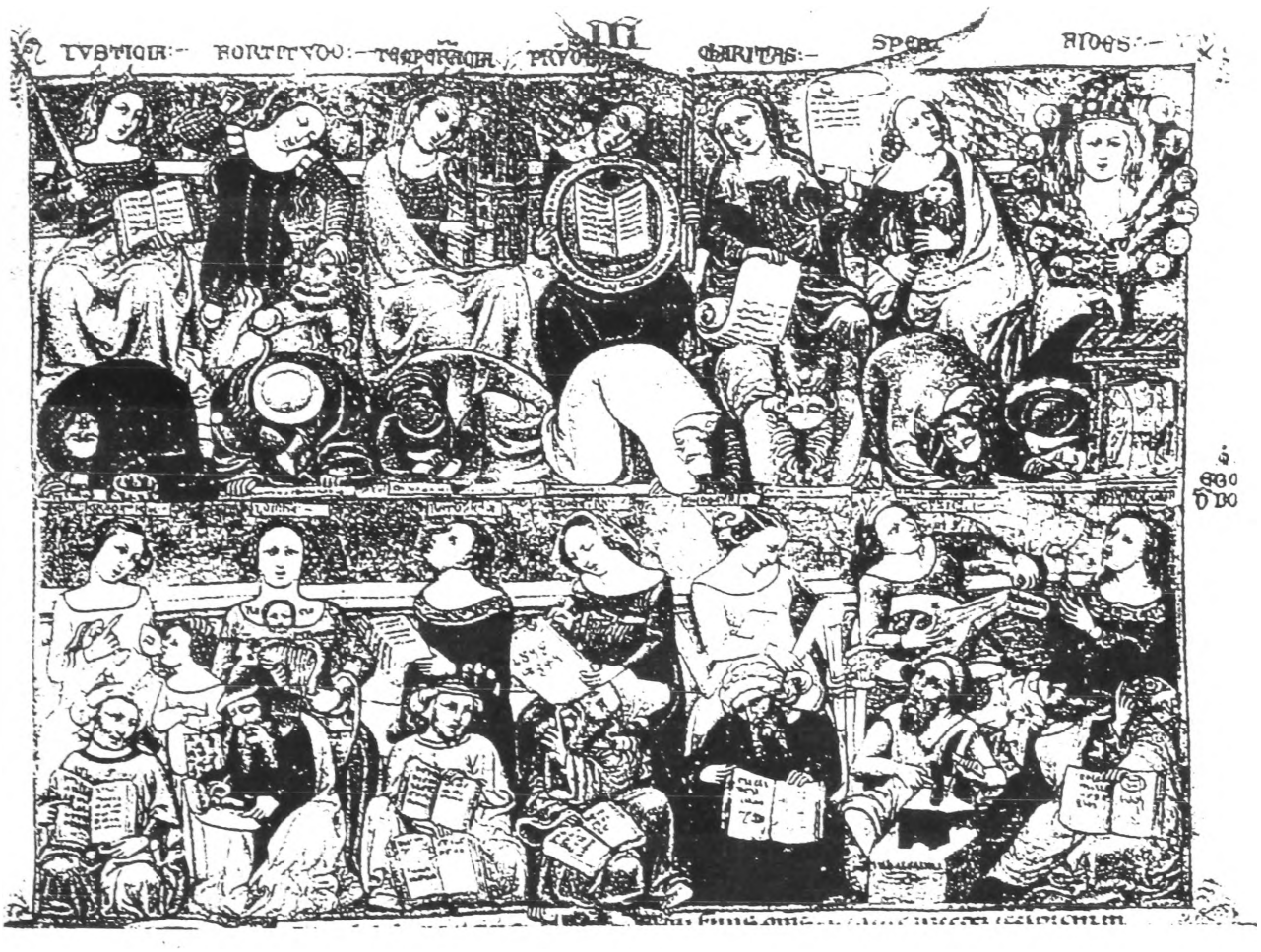

Fig. 23 'The Virtues and the Arts', by Nicolo Da Bologna in Giovanni Andrea, *Novella super libros Decretalium,* Milan, Ambrosiana, ms B. 42 inf., fol.1; rpt. in E. H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance II* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1972) fig. 75.

them.[124] When mantles were worn they were often fastened across the chest by cords attached to brooches. The garment, especially when worn on State occasions, was often very long, forming a train.[125] This long cloak, full and slightly out of fashion except for formal wear, would associate the Daughters with any other Virtue characters who were wearing garments of a similarly full cut. Mantles, according to Stella Mary Newton, were made of a variety of fabrics and were often lined with costly furs.[126]

There is very little indication of what was worn by the Four Daughters under these mantles. Since the mantle was attached by a cord, the garment under it would be visible. It may be assumed that this article of clothing was a gown and that possibly it was of the same colour and fabric as the mantle. This possibility originates from the initial details of the Daughters' costumes, as described in the stage direction notes at the beginning of the play. Justice, or Rythwysnesse, is "in red *altogedyr* [my italics]", an indication that perhaps Justice is wearing an ensemble where all the garments are red. Perhaps then, the other Daughters are also wearing gowns that are the same colour as their mantles. It is likely that Peace is, as she is "al in blake". Craik claims also that they would have worn "a secular costume rich without extravagance".[127] Depending upon the fabric and decoration of these hypothetical gowns and the frequency of their use, they may have been owned by the company or hired for the occasion.[128] While it is possible, as Craik suggested, that the Daughters are wearing white gowns, like the angels, the use of the word "altogedyr" seems to negate this.

---

[124] Yarwood, p.86.

[125] Yarwood, p.80.

[126] Mary Stella Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340-1365,* Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1980, p.49.

[127] Craik, *The Tudor Interlude,* p.54, argues for a number of costumes for the Four daughters. He suggests first that they may have worn the "coat, wings, and yellow silk hair of an angel...and Peace, Justice, Verity and Mercy, the 'four ladies celestiall'...may also have worn this dress", as heavenly beings, like angels "do not often appear, and the costume also serves to clothe Virtues", p.53. He also claims that the Daughters may have had a rich secular costume, but the evidence he cites is an unidentified German woodcut of 1530-40 of the Last Judgement where Justice and Truth appear for the prosecution and Mercy and Peace for the defence, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Douce Collection, 133, 387, reproduced by Craik as plate I.

[128] See chapter 2 for further details on hiring.

It is highly likely that both the Four Daughters of God and the Seven Virtues are wearing long wigs. Twycross and Carpenter believe that the female characters were definitely played by men who "somehow had to [be] provide[d with] flowing locks" and that it "seems to be a recognised stage convention (as also in art)" for virtuous female characters to have long, unbound hair. Wigs to overcome a deficiency may have been made from a number of materials, from horse hair, the cheapest substance for this purpose, to hemp or silk.[129]

* * *

d. The Seven Virtues

The Seven Virtues are all women: Humilitas (Meekness), Paciencia (Patience), Caritas (Charity), Abstinencia (Abstinence), Largitas (Generosity), Castitas (Chastity) and Solicitudo (Industry). The principal scene concerning these women occurs when they defend the castle against the Vices. The defence of a strong-hold, often a castle, and mock battle, have a long history. *Psychomachia,* by Prudentius, has Sobriety attacking the Vice character Luxuria with violets and roses, violets being symbolic of humility and roses indicating the Passion of Christ.[130] In *Dives and Pauper,* the Virgin has "a lylye or ellys a rose in here ryght hond in tokene þat she is maydyn wytouten ende and flour of alle wymmen".[131] In *The Castle of Perseverance,* the Virtues use roses and water against their enemies. Bevington compares the Virtues' weapons (roses and water) with those of their sword-wielding enemies, the Vices, and speaks of the Biblical parallel: "Deposuit potentes de sede" ("He

---

129 Twycross and Carpenter, p.17.

130 Peter. A. Bucknell, *Entertainment and Ritual: 600-1600,* Stainer and Bell, London,1979, p.184. and Davenport, p.110.

131 Pricilla H. Barnum (ed.), *Dives and Pauper,* Early English Text Society, no.275, Vol. 1, pt. 1, Oxford University Press, London, 1976, p.91.

hath put down the mighty from their seats", Luke 1:52). He further comments that "burly men winc[e] in pain and cowardly humiliation from the wounds they have received from such passive weapons".[132] The Seven Virtues anticipate the coming of the Four Daughters of God, and, by defeating the Vice characters in battle, anticipate also the defeat of the challenging daughters, Justice and Truth, by the more passive daughters, Mercy and Peace.[133]

The text describes the sisters as "louely in lace" (2548), indicating that they are tastefully dressed. It is probable that the costumes accord, since the Virtues are "seuene systerys swete" (2047). The sisters are also called "maydyns" and "ladys" (1764 and 1806), as well as some less complimentary names by the Vice characters. It seems logical to assume that, since the notes to the play are so specific about the colours to be worn by the Daughters, some attention would have been given to the colour of the Virtues' costumes. One possibility is that the Virtues are all similarly dressed, perhaps in white, indicating their purity. White may also have been a generic colour, appropriate to any Virtue character who does not have a colour that is of specific significance, such as red for Justice. This supposition gains credence from an account from a later period: in 1522 a castle was erected at one end of the English court and was guarded by the ladies Beautie, Honor, Perseuersaunce, Kyndnes, Constance, Bountie, Mercie and Pitie. Under the base of the castle were eight other ladies, Dangier, Distain, Gelousie, Vnkyndenes, Scorne, Malebouche, and Straungenes [only seven are listed]. The first ladies were costumed in gowns of white satin with their names embroidered in gold. The cut of the gowns is not, however, mentioned. The latter were "tired like to women of Inde".[134] It may not have been necessary for the Virtues to have their names embroidered on their gowns as it is possible that the Virtues were carrying traditional symbols to indicate their particular allegorical name. Rosemond Tuve notes that Prudence traditionally carried a sieve "to betoken circumspection", Fortitude, a tower to show impregnable constancy, and Temperance,

---

132 Bevington,'"Man, Thinke on thine Endinge Day"..., p.166.
133 Bevington,'"Man, Thinke on thine Endinge Day"..., p.160.
134 Edward Hall, *The Union of the two Noble and Illustrate Families of Lancastre and Yorke....*, London, 1548, 14 Hen. VIII, lxxxxiia.

a clock, a sign of moderation.[135] Temperance, according to Katzenellenbogen, often bore a jug of water and occasionally a torch, to illustrate Julianus Pomerius' text from *De Vita Contemplativa III,* "Ignem libidinosae voluptatis extinguit" ("extinguishes the flames of voluptuous lust").[136] There is little evidence of this in the text. It is known, however, that Chastity bears a water jug, as she pours water on lechery until she is "drenchyd" (2388). A further possibility is that the Virtues are each carrying banners with their names emblazoned on them. Meekness certainly bears a banner since she comments that "Ageyns þy baner of pride and bost/ A baner of meknes and mercy/ I putte ageyns pride"(2082-4). It is probable that the Virtues are carrying shields also as it is their task to protect Humanum Genus from the Vices: "Mankynd for to schylde and schete/ Fro dedly synne and schamely schot" (2049-50). Bevington has noted that "The metaphor of shielding is essential to *The Castle of Perseverance* with its walls of stone able to withstand a siege, and elsewhere the virtuous friends of Humanum Genus speak of their function to 'schelde' him from hell-fire and 'schelve' him from deadly sin".[137]

* * *

e. Confession and Penitence

The final two Virtue characters are Confession (Shrift) and Penitence, who play important, but brief, roles. These characters are summoned by the Good Angel to lead Humanum Genus back to the morally correct path. Confessio, or Confession, has the

---

135 Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and their Posterity,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1966, figures 14-17, pp.71-76 and Bevington,'"Man, Thinke on thine Endinge Day"..., p.161.

136 *De Vita Contemplativa, Book III,* Chapter 19, Migne, p.502, and Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from the Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* , The Warburg Institute, London, 1977, p.55.

137 Bevington, '"Man, Thinke on thine Endinge Day"..., p.165.

responsibility of acting as Humanum Genus' conscience and drawing a confession from him, allowing Humanum Genus to return to a state of grace. Confession's role is therefore that of a priest and possibly that is how he is dressed. Although there is no direct evidence in the text to support it, this costume would be appropriate and probably simple to borrow from a local priest. The character Confession, known as Shrift, appears also in *Everyman.*[138] As Everyman scourges himself, on Confession's advice, for his worldly interest in clothing, "Take this, body, for the sin of the flesh!/ Also thou delightest to go gay and fresh,/ And in the way of damnation thou did me bring" (613-615), it would be inappropriate for Confession to be wearing a costume that was not of a religious nature or, at least, very plain. It is likely that Confession was dressed as a cleric, as he is "that holy man".

While there is a similar lack of information about the costume of Penitencia, or Penitence, his lance is mentioned frequently. Penitence carries a spear, to inflict pricks of conscience, coming to Humanum Genus "with poynt of penaunce", with "launce", "spete of spere" or "spud of sorwe swote" in order to "reche to [his] hert rote" (1377-1400). Bevington claims that *The Castle of Perseverance* shows the "duality of grace and death in the image of the thrusting spear". He further claims that the image was "familiar in the visual arts, ... in the popular iconographic tradition of the Virtues crucifying Christ and thrusting him through the side with a spear in order to obtain for Humanum Genus the benefits of grace".[139]

One possible costume for Penitence would be sackcloth and ashes (indicating extreme penitence and humility). Sackcloth is defined by Doreen Yarwood as being a "coarse textile fabric of linen or cotton used for sacking ... a material signifying mourning or penitence".[140] Sackcloth was still being manufactured and worn, for specific purposes, at the time of *The Castle of Perseverance.*

---

138 A.C. Cawley (ed.) *Everyman and Mediaeval Miracle Plays,* J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., London, 1984, p.222.
139 Bevington, '"Man, Thinke on thine Endinge Day"..., p.162.
140 Doreen Yarwood, *The Encyclopaedia of World Costume,* Bonanza Books, New York, p.350.

McMurray Gibson has related that as late as the sixteenth century, sackcloth was still being worn and states that each year the king of France, Henry III, and his wife, Louise of Lorraine, wore sackcloth on a pilgrimage to pray for children.[141]

* * *

III. The Vices

While the play ends by showing the power of God, it begins by showing the might of Humanum Genus' Enemies and the Vices. Seated on three of the four scaffolds between which the action takes place, are the chief Vices, Mundus (the World), Belyal (the Devil) and Caro (the Flesh).

It may be argued that all of the Vices should be dressed as devils, based on their description in the dialogue as "develys" and "fendys".[142] However, as characters in morality plays are usually dressed allegorically and as these Vice characters are named for specific vices, it is more likely that the characters are dressed to indicate these more specific characteristics. Thus the references to "develys" and "fendys" are to the Vices' personalities and behaviour, rather than their costumes. Huston Diehl has suggested, for example, the "worldly man [World, probably] is stout", to indicate that he wants for nothing and does no work. He probably is dressed richly, like a lord, in highly decorated finery, with jewels and fine fabrics.[143] This would illustrate Matthew 24: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God".

---

141 McMurray Gibson, p.64.

142 See Max Harris, 'Flesh and Spirits: The Battles between Virtues and Vices in Medieval Drama Reassessed', *Medium Ævum*, Vol. 57, 1988, p.62 also.

143 Huston Diehl, 'Inversion, Parody and Irony: The Visual Rhetoric of Renaissance English Tragedy', *Studies in English Literature*, 22 (1982), p.199. For further details of current fashion and luxury see the *Mankind* chapter.

Similarly rich and wealthy costumes are worn by many of the Vice characters, like a livery, where opulence is the common denominator linking the costumes of the characters, rather than cut and colour. There is ample evidence from the text that the Vices are dressed in very rich costumes, as Flesh invites the audience to "Behold þe Werld, þe Deuyl, and me! [in] ... Oure ryche aray" (266-7 and 274). While Eccles also cites references to "aray", meaning condition or behaviour, the references mentioned here would refer to the lords' personal appearance, to their dress and the display that their splendour is making, based on lines 470, 831, 902, 942 and 1792.

The dialogue suggests that the minor Vices are dressed in the livery of their lord. Mundus, or the World, is the lord of Voluptas (Lust-liking) and Stulticia (Foolishness), Belyal, the Devil, is the lord of Superbia (Pride), Ira (Wrath) and Invidia (Envy), while Caro (Flesh) is the lord of Gula (Greed), Accidia (Sloth, his "swete sone", 251) and Luxuria (Lechery, who is the only female Vice character and is his "dowtyr so dere", 999). Lust-liking claims that "Whoso wyl be ryche and in gret aray/ Toward þe Werld he schal drawe" (493-4), indicating presumably that those who follow the World are dressed alike in rich and sumptuous clothes. Backbiter is also in the employ of World, "I am þe Werldys messengere" (658). It is probable that "Syr Belyal" wears "blak" (928). He is also called "Belyal þe blake" (199) which may indicate his evil personality. Envy, Wrath and Pride, the more militant of the Vices, are close followers of Belial, so much so that he names them his children, "... my chyldyr þre/ Envye, Wrathe, and Pryde" (956-7).[144] These relationships could perhaps have been made more explicit to *The Castle of Perseverance*'s audience through costume. This may have been achieved by these Vices wearing black like their master and carrying war-like accoutrements, such as swords and shields. Perhaps they also wore armour.

---

144 Their militancy is inherent in phrases such as "Wretthe, þis wrecche, wyth me schal wawe" (210) and "Enuye into werre wyth me schal walkyn wyth" (211).

The Virtues and Vices are symmetrically opposite and when they go into battle, they war with their counterparts. In their weapons, the Virtues and Vices represent natural opposites. The fire of the Vices, Bevington argues, as well as the fires of lust, represent hell and the water of the Virtues probably represents purity.[145] Gluttony attacks Abstinence with "a faget in myn necke" (2252), specifying that he has perhaps a faggot resting up against his shoulder or neck. Bevington has commented that Gluttony's faggot would indicate that gluttony or excess fuels lust by inflaming appetite.[146] Lechery, the Vice most closely associated with the flames of lust, carries "cursyd colys" (2291) and Chastity causes her to be "drenchyd" (2388). Wrath or anger also has associations with fire, so Wrath threatens to "brenne" Patience with "wyld fere" (2115). Sloth, the sin of laziness, is rather strangely equipped with a spade, with which to "delue" (2326). This seeming paradox is resolved with the explanation that the spade is to be used to empty the ditch around the castle of its "watyr of grace" (2329). Bevington has interpreted this as "slothful behaviour dries up the source of grace for Mankind".[147]

Folly may carry a hook, "He muste hangyn on my hoke" (512), but the reference could be to a metaphorical hook. The work of Folly was to trap people by their own stupidity and greed and this hook is used to catch the words that would record their sin. In line 3066 Anima laments Humanum Genus' sin, saying that "In helle on hokys I schal honge". While other sins lead Humanum Genus to sin, it is folly that takes him into hell and keeps him trapped there on his hooks. Belial's followers have more conventional weapons. Envy and Wrath each have bows, "perfore þis bowe I bere" (Envy: 2159), and Wrath has "many a vyre" (2112) and stones, "Wyth styffe stonys þat I haue here" (2111), with which he will pelt Patience. Wrath thus parallels those eager to judge and punish the adulterous sinner in John 8:7: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her".

---

145 Bevington, '"Man, Thinke on thine Endinge Day"..., p.164.
146 Bevington, '"Man, Thinke on thine Endinge Day"..., p.164.
147 Bevington, '"Man, Thinke on thine Endinge Day"..., p.164. It is interesting to compare the use and interpretation of the spade with *Mankind* where the spade represents the honest labour of morally-correct Man.

Belial himself, Pride and the Bad Angel carry banners. Belial, the seeming general of the Vices, commands his army to "Sprede my penon upon a prene" (1903). Pride is ordered also to "put out þi penon of raggys and of rowte" (1973), which Bevington has translated as "ensign of rags and riot, symbolizing disorder and prodigality": disorder, chaos and confusion being the optimum working environment for the Vices. The Bad Angel also bears the "brodde" or scutcheon of his master, Belial.[148]

* * *

a. Lechery

Bevington has commented that symmetry plays an important part in *Wisdom*, symmetry which also may be noted in *The Castle of Perseverance.* Two of the Daughters of God represent Old Testament virtues and two represent those of the New Testament. There are seven Virtues and seven Vices. The females in *The Castle of Perseverance,* as in many of the morality plays, also represent the spectrum of womanhood as seen in the Bible, from the sin of Eve in the Old Testament to the sainthood of the Virgin Mary in the New Testament.[149] This opposition would probably also be apparent in the costumes. Lechery, the female Vice, would wear fashionable garments such as "robys rounde" and "Grete gounse" (2072-3). Lechery, allegorically, may be strongly identified with Mary Magdalene before her conversion. In the play *Mary Magdalene,* by Lewis Wager, Pride instructs Mary Magdalene to dress her hair elaborately and wear hooped skirts.[150] The relationship between finery and immorality is illustrated by the Prioress in *Ane Satyre*

---

148 Bevington, '"Man, Thinke on thine Endinge Day"..., p.165.

149 Charlotte Spivack, 'Feminine versus Masculine in English Morality Drama', *Fifteenth Century Studies*, Vol.13, no.213, 1988, agrees with this reading of the "dual nature of women" seen in *The Castle of Perseverance.*

150 Wager, Lewis. *The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene.* London; 1566.

of the Thrie Estatis, when she is identified as a prostitute or "ane cow-clink" upon the discovery of an under-skirt of silk beneath her habit (stage note under 3685).[151]

It is difficult to assess how fashionable garments, as used by a Vice character like Lechery, would have looked, since the dating of the play is not exact, and fashions, as now, display noticeable changes at least each decade. Generally speaking, bodices were now able to be fitted to the torso, so the bright colours, popular during this period, and the highly fashionable cut of the garment worn by Lechery would be in sharp contrast to the (possibly) full, white costume of the Virtues.[152] As noted previously, there was a great change in fashionable clothing for men and women in the mid-fourteenth century. These costume changes provoked a number of critical comments from contemporary writers in Italy, Spain, France and England. Galvano della Flamma, who wrote for the Visconti family in Italy, related that "Women had changed for the worst, their dresses being tight enough to strangle them and cut too low at the neck. They wandered around wearing gold brooches, silks and sometimes even gold brocades. Their hair was crimped in the foreign style, their heads had been turned by foreign ideas, and going about with their gold girdles and their shoes with long beaks, they looked positively like amazons. What was worse, they were as tough and hard-hearted as men-at-arms".[153] In England, John of Reading, a chronicler, writing in 1356 claimed that

> longorum lagorumque indumentorum antiqua honestate deserta, vestibus curtis, strictis, frustratis, scissis, onmi parte laqueatis, corrigiatis, botonatis cum manicis ac tipeitis supertunicarum et caputiorum nimis pendulis, tortoribus et, ut verius dicam, daemonibus tam indumentis quam calciamentis similiores quam hominibus...Mulieres enim in praedictis et aliis curiosius fluxerunt, adeo stricte vestitae, ut ad anos celandos caudas vulpinas

---

151 Lines from Happé (ed), *Four Morality Plays,* Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1979, p.582.

152 It is possible that Lechery's costume, and even that of Mary Magdalene before her conversion, is decorated with spots, a practice from the Tudor period, which Craik, *The Tudor Interlude,* has linked to Vice (pp. 57 and 65).

153 Newton, p. 7.

vestibus inferius consutas penderent. Quorum forte superbia futuris praetendit infortunia. [154]

Possibly Lechery is wearing a fashionable headdress. At this period headdresses were of four types, the reticulated, the turban, the heart-shaped and the steeple headdress. The reticulated style had been worn since the reign of Henry III and was probably that worn by Lechery, as in this style the hair was encased in metal mesh which then had a wired veil attached to the top. This style creates the effect of horns on the wearer's head. During the first half of the fourteenth century, fashion decreed that veils should be shaped to form horns, a fashion which caused extensive interest, the horns often being linked to animals and devils. A satire "Of horns" which was written in the first decade of the fourteenth century, relates that a Bishop preached a sermon against certain fashions, and particularly horned headdresses, directing people to yell at those who were thus dressed "Beware the Ram".[155]

* * *

b. Back-biter

The text provides opportunities for speculation in regard to the costume of Back-biter. He indicates that he carries a box "Wyth letterys of defamacyoun ... here in my box" (671-2), letters which, in the hands of a Vice, may be used to blackmail and extort or

---

[154] James Tait (ed.),*Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis 1346-1367,* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1914, p.89. This may be translated as: the decent long and ample fashions of the good old days are deserted in favour of clothing that is short, narrow, hampering, cut all about, laced up in every part and on every side changed with sleeves and tapets of sircotes and overlarge and long hoods that hang down too much, so that in truth it may be said that they are more like tormentors and devils in their clothing and behaviour and other array than men... [Women's] bizarre clothing is so tight that they wear the tails of foxes hanging under their skirts at the back to hide their behinds. The sin of pride exemplified in all this bodes no good for the future."

[155] Reproduced and translated by Fairholt, p.224.

perhaps to spread gossip behind the backs of other characters. Back-biter's costume could be a literal interpretation of this. As Back-biter "...speke[s] fayre beforn and fowle behynde" (664), it is possible that he could be wearing a costume with a face painted on the back. There are illustrations from 1615 which show devils from the festival of Ommeganck in Brussels (Fig. 24a and b). One wears a costume with a demon's face painted on the back. Perhaps Back-biter is wearing a similar costume, with a pleasant face painted on the front of his gown and a demon's face painted on the back, illustrating the two-facedness that liars and trouble-makers are said to possess.[156]

* * *

c. Belial

Belial, the lord of Hell, is well known in the Macro plays for the use of fireworks in his costuming, particularly during battle scenes: "he þat schal pley belyal loke þat he haue gunnepowdyr brennynge In pypys in hys handys and in hys erys and in hys ars whanne he gothe to batayl" (from the stage direction following the play). William Lewis has claimed that the devil was often accompanied by fireworks and flatulence as it is "Lucifer's fear of fire that makes him break wind" and the playing with fire is no more than "an echo of nervous whistling past the graveyard".[157] Lewis does trace this fear of fire to the Fall of Lucifer and the tradition that it was at the time of the expulsion that his white angel's wings were burned off.[158] He also equates Lucifer's fear with Humanum Genus' fear of

---

[156] Laver comments that "the devil in medieval art is almost always double-faced, or even poly-faced, with additional visages on his belly, on his knees, and even on his posterior", p.57.

[157] William Lewis, 'Playing with Fire and Brimstone: "Auctor Ludens, Diabolus Ludicrus"' *Essays on Plays in Literature,* Benjamin, Philadelphia,1986, p.49.

[158] The Bodleian Library has an illustration of Lucifer, reproduced, but not dated, by George Every, *Christian Mythology,* Hamlyn, London, 1987, p. 33, first as an angel sitting on his throne in Heaven, then being adored by other angels (who carry

Fig. 24a and b. 'St George and Devils', Scenes in the Ommeganck, Brussels, 1615, painting by Denis Van Alsloot, London in the Victoria and Albert Museum; rpt. in James Laver, *Costume in the Theatre* (London: George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., 1964) p. 55.

the fiery Hell which will be his destiny if he succumbs to sin.[159] Roger Bacon in *Opus Tertium*, written between 1266 and 1268, discusses the use of gunpowder:

> Et experimentum hujus rei capimus ex hoc ludicro puerili, quod fit in multis mundi partibus, scilicet ut instrumento facto ad quantitatem pollicis humani ex violentia illius salis, qui sal petræ vocatur, tam horribilis sonus nascitur in ruptura tam modicæ rei, scilicet modici pergameni, quod fortis tonitrui sentiatur excedere rugitum, et coruscationem maximan sui luminis jubar excedit.[160]

The fireworks, with their loud and abrupt noise, their smell of sulphur and the scatological humour indicative in the effects emanating, particularly, from Lucifer's "ars", would therefore be highly entertaining. It may also have been used to remind the audience of their own probable descent to Hell, should they embrace an immoral life. The crudity of Lucifer throws the grace and simplicity of the Virtues into sharp contrast. Costume here gives explicit warnings to the audience concerning the wages of sin. The crudity of Lucifer is given aural illustration with the use of gunpowder. Gunpowder was often used in drama as the Churchwarden's account for 1505 to 1506 from Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey shows: "Paid for a skin of parchment and gunpowder for the play on Ester-day viijd."[161] The "skin of parchment" may have been rolled to form the "pypys" containing the "gunnepowdyr brennynge" in his "handys and in hys erys and in hys ars". Lucifer's costume then was unlikely to have been tight fitting, as the pipes

---

peacock's feathers - a symbol of pride). Lucifer is then shown with other angels falling into Hell's mouth where Satan awaits him. It is presumably here that his wings are singed.

159 Lewis, p.49.

160 From Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium*, quoted in J.R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder*, W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1960, p.77. It may be translated as: "We have an example of these things in that children's toy which is made in many parts of the world, viz. an instrument made as large as the human thumb. From the force of the salt called saltpetre so horrible a sound is produced by the bursting of so small a thing, viz. a small piece of parchment, that we perceive it exceeds the roar of strong thunder and the flash exceeds the greatest brilliancy of the lightning".

161 Reproduced in Chambers, p.375 and Philip Butterworth 'Gunnepowdyr, Fyre and Thondyr', *Medieval English Theatre*, Vol.7, no.2, 1985, pp.68-76. Butterworth has done extensive research into the history and use of gunpowder in medieval theatre. For a more complete list of references to gunpowder in theatrical events, refer to his notes, page 73.

would have to be fixed into the costume.[162] Lucifer must have worn a mask, as it is unlikely that the actor would have had pipes of gunpowder, which must have been at least a finger's breadth thick, inserted into his own ears, a dangerous practice given the damage that might be done by the heat of the pipes and the noise from a firecracker at such close proximity. A mask must, therefore, have been worn, with sufficient bulk to allow for the protection of the actor. The additional bulk of Lucifer's head and body may have had the effect of making him appear more powerful and unnatural, particularly in comparison to Humanum Genus.

* * *

d. Malus Angelus

Humanum Genus' most persistent tempter is Malus Angelus, or the Bad Angel, who is present, along with the Good Angel, from Humanum Genus' birth. Ann Eljenholm Nichols has extensively researched the appearance of Bad Angels in East Anglia, particularly in art. She relates that they wore a variety of animalistic costumes, including shaggy skins.[163] Eljenholm Nichols clearly believes that the Bad Angel is dressed as a devil, as she uses the same description for the Bad Angel and the devil and relates that in only one church does the Bad Angel have wings similar to those of the Good Angel (East Dereham); elsewhere the Bad Angel has "the elaborately veined wings of a dragon".[164] This could show the relationship between Belial and the Bad Angel, as Belial is "in draf as a drake" (197). In order to contrast with the Good Angel, the Bad Angel would possibly be wearing black, a

---

[162] Butterworth has suggested that a harness or framework of wire or wicker was incorporated into the costume, p.73.

[163] Further details mainly relate to the costumes of devils in East Anglia and accordingly, will be found in the chapter dealing with *Mankind*.

[164] Eljenholm Nichols, p.308.

version of the devil's garb, as this would indicate his loyalty and his place on the moral scale.

* * *

e. Garcio

The World betrays Humanum Genus as he is dying by giving all his wealth to a stranger, Garcio known as "I Wot Neuere Whoo", which may be translated as "Some Person Unknown" (2968-2969). Garcio is probably not a child. He, I believe, is meant to represent merely another human for the Vices to corrupt and destroy as they did Humanum Genus. He is presumably the same age as Humanum Genus was when first corrupted. Garcio is likely, therefore, to be in his late teens, interested in fashion, lechery and wealth. He is randomly selected by the World to take Humanum Genus' lands and wealth from him, even as Humanum Genus lies dying: "I am com to haue al þat þou hast,/ Ponndys, parkys, and euery place" (2934-5). There are biblical precedents for disposession. In Psalm 39, v.6 there is a reference to unrightful inheritance, "he heapeth up riches, and knoweth not who shall gather them", and again in Luke 12, v.20, "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee. Then whose shall those things be, which thou hast provided?" Garcio, who is to receive Humanum Genus' goods, is unrelated to Humanum Genus, and the unwarranted seizing and reallocation of property was highly topical at the time of the writing of *The Castle of Perseverance.* The Pastons, for example, were often confronted with this situation as the feudal system disintegrated. On February 17 1448, Lord Molynes took possession of the the manor at Gresham through the persuasion of John Heydon, an enemy of the Pastons, who desired this property but had no legal claim to this land.[165]

---

165 *Paston Letter* no. 61 from H. S. Bennett, *The Pastons and their England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1922, p.5.

Since Garcio has not as yet taken the wealth of Humanum Genus, he would not be in fashionable or expensive garments. The actor who played the part of Garcio may, therefore, be wearing his own garments. This might cause the audience members to equate Garcio with themselves and be more analytical of their own behaviour and its ramifications. It is possible also that Garcio may have been dressed in a "pore and nakyd" fashion, in a way similar to that of Humanum Genus when he was first given his wealth. The only actual details of his costume are from the Banns and indicate that he wears very thin ("ful þynne", 110) clothing with a torn hood ("torne hod" 109).

* * *

f. Death

Death appears most frequently in art as a highly emaciated skeletal figure. In a late fifteenth century Book of Hours from Flanders, three dead men are shown rushing towards a woman with spears upraised. These dead men are shown to be little more than skeletons with skin stretched over the bones. Their colour is quite dark. The eye sockets are empty and they are naked except for a white cloth draped over their hips and one shoulder, perhaps representing burial shrouds (Fig. 25). In *The London Book of Hours of René of Anjou*, a French, early fifteenth century work, René had himself painted as the King of Death. As such, he is an emaciated figure, with his bones clearly showing. In addition to this, Death's mid-section is beginning to rot; intestines may be seen with white maggots writhing amongst them. The face is also skeletal but the eye sockets still have the eye balls, the back teeth may be discerned where the cheek flesh has rotted away (Fig. 26).

Fig. 25 'The Three Living and Three Dead', *Book of Hours*, Flanders, late 15th century, British Library, London, Add. ms 35313; rpt. in John Harthan, *Books of Hours* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977) p.30.

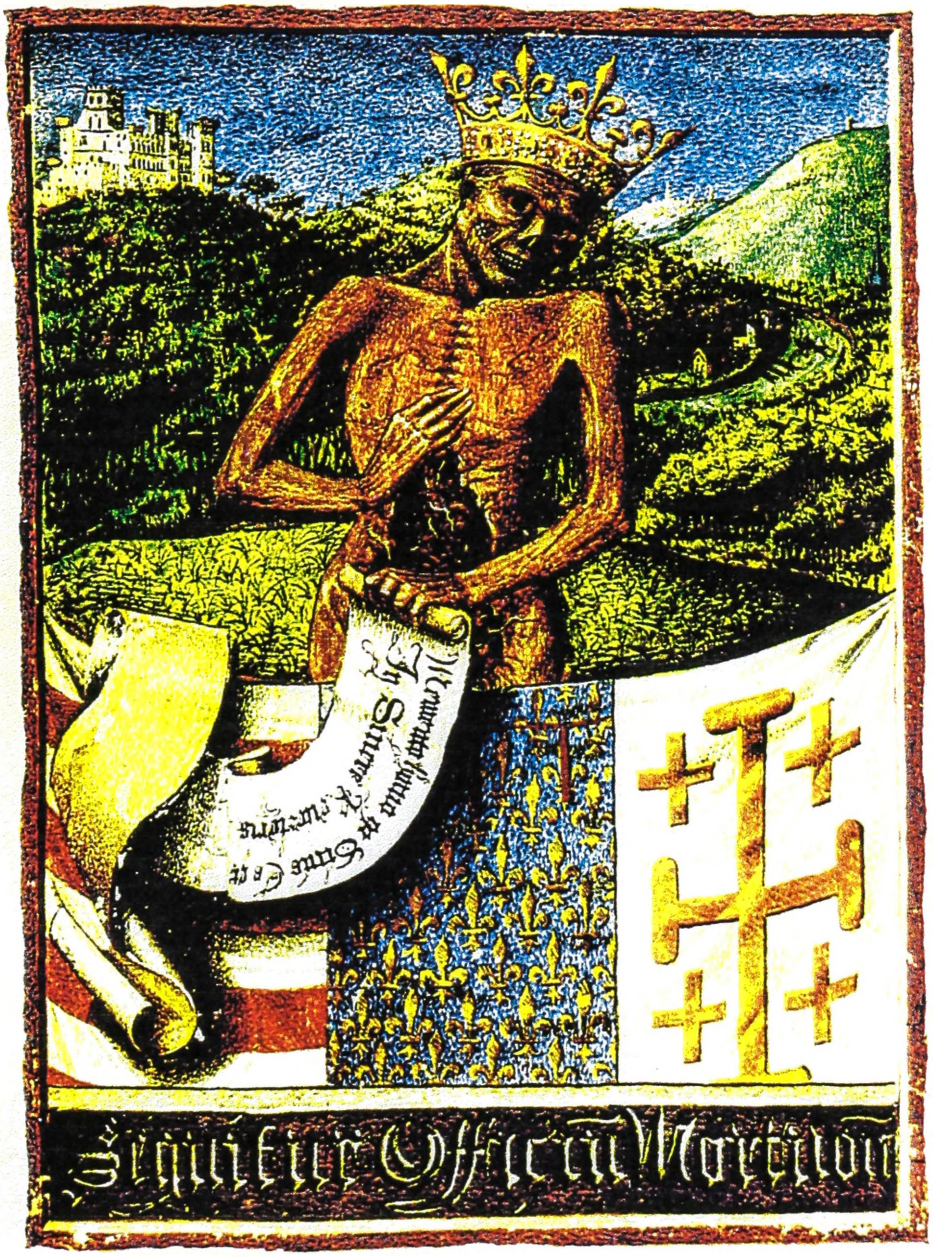

Fig. 26 'Portrait of René', f.81v, *The Paris Hours of René of Anjou*, France, 1410-1420, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, ms lat. 1156a; rpt. in John Harthan, *Books of Hours* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977) p.90.

Fig. 27 'Christ as Eternal Wisdom', Henrich Suso from a manuscript of the German writings in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolffenbuttel, Codex Guelf, 78.5, Aug. Fol. 97R 1473, rpt. in Milla C. Riggio (ed.), *The Wisdom Symposium*, (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1986) plate 1.

Death is a common player in the drama of this time also, but there is not a great deal of textual information concerning the costuming appropriate to this character. The costume of Death, or Mors, would probably rely on the imagination and resources of the costume maker and the producer. It is known that painting was used frequently to add details to costumes (see chapter 2) and this costume could be produced quite easily by painting a black body suit with white to simulate bones, in a similar way to fancy-dress costumes even today. Painted details, such as intestines and maggots, could also be added. This costume would accord with the message and action of the play; as Humanum Genus has lately been stripped of his wealth by World, so at death will he be stripped of all mortal trappings, even his flesh.

* * *

g. Anima

The Anima, or Soul, of Humanum Genus appears from beneath the bed after Humanum Genus' death. The Soul is a popular character in medieval drama, as the number of existing records of this costume show. Souls may be either white or black, according to the Coventry records, in accordance with their moral purity.[166] It is likely that Anima would have a black robe, since he died in a state of sin, but it is also possible that he wore white, to indicate his sincere wish to repent. Humanum Genus asks to be "putte ... on Goddys mercy" (3007). He is full of "sorwe" (3061) and "wo" (3065). He fears the hooks of Hell (3066) and calls to Mercy to help him "in þis vale" (3010). It is unlikely that the Soul would have had any costume change, as he only appears once, at Humanum Genus' death. From existing records, it appears that both good souls and bad souls had their faces coloured or disguised in some way. In the *York Doomsday* play the "euell saules" wore masks but in the Coventry

166 Ingram, (ed.) *Coventry,* R.E.E.D., pp.217, 224, 230, 237, 241-3, 464-5.

records their faces were blackened.[167] It is known that flour was sometimes used to artificially strip the white soul's face of colour and charcoal used to colour the black soul's face; French actors could use "barbouillés de farine (ou de charbon), [or wear] faulx visages de papier".[168] Make-up may also have been used, however, to whiten the face of a good soul. White make-up at this time was "ceruse", or white lead (also used for painting scenery and the like) which, Twycross and Carpenter relate, was "a common cream, though it apparently melted and dripped off if the lady went out into the sun".[169] As such, it would not have been as effective as flour, particularly if the performance was outdoors, as the original stage plan suggests.

Many of the records concerning the costuming of the souls are from the mid-sixteenth century, although in 1433 the York Mercers have an account for the "Array for ij euell saules...ij vesenes & ij Chauelers Array for ij gode saules...ij vesernes & ij Chevelers".[170] It seems then that in York the practice was for the souls to wear masks and wigs. This practice would be of great benefit if the producer were doubling the parts in the play, where there would not be enough time to make-up the actor between parts. A wig would then also allow for an actor who was playing more than one part to change quickly. An alb is one possible costume for a good soul. The Coventry Drapers, one hundred years later, used yellow leather for Good Souls, but it seems likely that the 1433 York record would accord with the costuming of the Soul in *The Castle of Perseverance,* as it is closer to the date of that play, albs are more easily accessible (and easier to borrow freely from a local church) than leather suits, and an alb would link the Good Soul

---

167 Johnston and Rogerson (ed.), *York*, R.E.E.D., p.55 from the 11 June, 1433 Mercers' Pageant Documents, MA:D63, and Ingram (ed.), *Coventry*, R.E.E.D., pp. 217, 21, 224, 230, 237, 242, 246, 250, 254, 257, 259, 264, 475-6, 478-80. These Coventry records indicate that the practice continued until c.1573.

168 Martial d'Auvergnes in the sixteenth century forbad merchants and people of low status to take part in masquerades but allowed them to continue mumming. They could still have their faces "Covered with flour (or carbon), [or wear] false faces of paper". Martial d'Auvergnes, in H. Pruniéres, *Le Ballet de Cour en France avant Benserade et Lulli*, Paris, 1914, p.37 quoted in Twycross and Carpenter, Vol. 3, 1981, p. 12.

169 Twycross and Carpenter, p.16.

170 Johnson & Rogerson (ed.), *York*, R.E.E.D., p.55.

iconographically with the moral characters whom he hoped to join.[171] It is more likely however that Anima was dressed in a black fabric robe, perhaps of canvas, as a 1567 record from the Coventry Drapers indicates.[172] Anima would probably also have had a blackened face.

The vexillators', or banns announcers', dress would probably not be a theatrical costume as such but rather a uniform or set of livery. The fact that Banns were written and that there are places (lines 134, 145 and 148) to insert place names indicates the play was neither designed for a one-off performance nor for a performance that was always occurring in the same place. It thus seems probable that *The Castle of Perseverance* was intended for touring either as a text or by a troupe of actors. If the play toured in text form, the livery or other costumes of the vexillators would, of course, be different for each production.

* * *

The Castle of Perseverance may be seen to rely quite heavily on Christian iconography to enhance the story of Humanum Genus' life and relationships with the Virtues and Vices. Humanum Genus, in his nakedness, would recall Adam and Eve before their fall from grace and the crisom, a cloth used in baptism, would evoke a time when the sin of the fathers is removed from humanity. He then gains worldly and expensive clothing, recalling to the minds of the audience Adam and Eve and their insistence on clothing after their

---

171 Ingram (ed.), *Coventry*, R.E.E.D. In the Coventry Drapers *Doomsday* play of 1538-55, the white souls wore "cotes of leather". After 1567, both the white and black souls had canvas outfits, however the white soul's outfit was actually listed as being yellow. This was a deliberate colour change, as xvjd was paid "for collering the soles cott yelloo", Drapers' accounts, p.241. The Coventry Drapers used leather, then canvas then buckram, then went back to canvas, back to buckram again, then leather, indicating that perhaps the weight and texture of these fabrics were the same.

172 See footnote 171 for a full description of the different fabrics used.

fall, when they had become acquainted with sin. Penitential robes may have then been assumed by Humanum Genus after his suing for mercy and return to grace. The costume of God may possibly have been taken directly from the description of The Ancient of Days in the Bible, with God perhaps wearing the alb. The angels may have worn vestments of some kind, illustrating their relationship to the Church and therefore to God. The Four Daughters of God rely on theology to direct their behaviour and the Bible, perhaps, for their personalities. Their costumes seem to be heavily reliant upon contemporary colour symbolism. The Seven Virtues rely on colour symbolism and tradition for their (probable) costumes, along with interpretations of their allegorical attributes for possible personal properties. Penitence, with his spear, is based on contemporary iconography. The Vices are caught in the world of sin. Unlike Adam and Eve they revel in their sin and enhance it by donning finer and richer clothes and attempting no work. Belial, who was cast from Heaven for his pride in believing himself equal to God, perhaps reminds the audience of this, and his punishment, through his burned and blackened robes. The Soul, through the colour of his robes, illustrates his moral preference. Each character, therefore, is a visual reminder to the audience of some aspect of Christian teaching.

The Castle of Perseverance, the oldest, complete morality play, shows a great reliance upon traditional Christian iconography in its costuming. This costuming is used very effectively to illustrate the author's concerns over his changing environment. This may be seen particularly in the costumes of God where immutability, wise old age and lawful authority are juxtaposed to the instability and mutability of Humanum Genus. The other Virtue and Vice characters serve to reinforce these concerns. Costumes therefore serve to represent iconographically the conservatism of the author and his distrust of the post-feudal changes. These changes were often severe, with many suffering, such as when land was randomly seized from rightful owners. This occurs in *The Castle of Perseverance* when Humanum Genus' land is given to Garcio and as mentioned in the chapter 2, this situation was reinforced by contemporary experience, according to the Paston letters. The

Paston family themselves were often, and for many years, at law, seeking to have returned to them land which had been randomly, and seemingly illegally, taken and bestowed elsewhere. Their experience shows why land inheritance was one of the great preoccupations of the fifteenth century. Milla C. Riggio has stated that in East Anglia at the time of *The Castle of Perseverance* "continuous ownership and hereditary continuity on the land were less consistently maintained".[173]

There are many references, also in the Paston letters, to the gangs controlled by local lords who terrorized many in East Anglia at this time, a situation which may be seen in the positions held by Belial and the chief Enemy, World. Belial, dressed all in black, is the warrior thug of the World. Given the lawlessness in East Anglia, it is interesting to note that the kings and the lords mentioned in the Paston letters would perhaps have worn similarly rich costumes. Play images were becoming reality. This reality is emphasised by the general outcry over fashionable costumes of the time, costumes which were felt by many to be immoral, being too short and too tight. These costumes conjured up images of the bestial side of human nature. The costuming for women had features which many felt were causing them to be too like men, against God's intentions. The gallant character too has a place in tradition and in contemporary social upheaval, as he represents the loss of traditional decency and the sin of disobeying God's intentions.

The Castle of Perseverance shows clear indications of its author's concern with the upheavals occurring in society at this time. Into his play, he brings commentary on the bullying by the powerful, as was occurring in East Anglia, through the actions of the three Enemies. Feudalism is a motif running throughout the action. The link between the action in this play, and the "economic and social abuse [of] feudal patronage" has been strongly forged by Riggio in her "Allegory of feudal acquisition in *The Castle of Perseverance*". Riggio has developed her argument in relation to the language of *The Castle of Perseverance* (a play that could be set in a non-specific, timeless, period), arguing that various vocabulary items

---

[173] Riggio, pp. 187-208.

in particular indicate the impact these changes were having on the people.[174] She also argues that the "political realities and economic fears of the early fifteenth century ... re-enforce the religious allegory of the play". By this she means the disruptions that occurred in society, caused by the land owners' need to remain solvent, the rise of the merchant class and other changes in traditional life and the class system are illustrated in *The Castle of Perseverance.*

The greatest social change that *The Castle of Perseverance* confronts is the perception shifts that many individuals were experiencing, as a consequence of external, social upheaval. These perception shifts, and the distrust that the author has for them, are amply illustrated in the costuming of *The Castle of Perseverance.* As it is the Humanum Genus character who represents people and their place in society, so it is Humanum Genus who is dressed to illustrate the perception changes. These perception changes were what might be expected when the structure of society changes; many lost faith in their position in the world and in their smaller, local situation. Social structure had remained stationary for many centuries and previously a man may have expected to be in the same class in society as his father and perhaps fulfil the same role. The devastation of the Black Death, the changes in agricultural production and the (previously unknown) high unemployment meant that society had to accept new rules. Some individuals began to lose trust in their social network and began to consider their individual autonomy rather than working for the sake of the group. This emerges in *The Castle of Perseverance* particularly through the character of the gallant. This character is not concerned with the common wealth, fixed as he is, on social mobility and working for his own, personal benefit. The physical manifestation of this social mobility is, of course, his adoption of high fashion which visually aligns him with the King of the World and the other Enemies and Vices.

The author of *The Castle of Perseverance* highlights his apprehensions about social change and the disruptions of the

[174] Riggio, p.192.

ordained hierarchy not only by having Humanum Genus change but by having the Virtue characters remaining as they always were, in full, modest garments. The costumes in *The Castle of Perseverance* reinforce the author's conservatism: change is sinful and the status quo is virtuous.

CHAPTER 4

MANKIND

Mankind, the shortest and perhaps the most humorous of the Macro plays, appears to have been written between 1465 and 1470. Like the other Macro plays, *Mankind* was written in the East Anglia area.

Mankind, like *The Castle of Perseverance*, along with its traditional religious message, has a high incidence of social commentary. *Mankind* was probably performed in what must be considered by a modern audience as a non-religious play arena.[1] It is generally taken for granted that *Mankind* was performed either in an inn or in the yard of an inn. This is known by New Guise calling for a Hostler ("What how, ostlere, hostlere! Lende ws a football" 732). An inn would also be an appropriate play area to have professional players performing, collecting fees.[2] While a church porch was sometimes used as a play area, the collection of money in return for entertainment, or even as a fee for receiving moral messages, would perhaps be inappropriate. It is known that money was collected from the audience, as the N-Vices declare, "We xall gaþer mony onto" (457), "We intende to gather mony" (460) and in line 470, "3e pay all alyke; well mut 3e fare".

While *Mankind* fulfils its ostensible purpose of delivering a moral message, the staging of the play in an inn and the call for a collection give a clear indication that *Mankind* was not only a tool for religious instruction but also a means of livelihood for actors and a source of pure entertainment for the audience.

---

[1] This is, of course, a modern perception. The Christian Church has shown itself, from its very beginnings, to be highly eclectic and appropriative. Early examples of this include the appropriation of pagan festivals which were converted for Christian purposes. From the medieval viewpoint, an inn yard may have been quite acceptable for the play arena of a Christian play.

[2] While it is possible that the fees are being collected for a purpose other than the payment of the actors, perhaps as rental for the performing space, or a collection for charity, there is no indication of this occurring in any other play, while there is, particularly later, a history of the payment of actors.

Entertainment is achieved through a heavy reliance upon comedy and scatological humour but these elements had a serious purpose. Sister Phillipa Coogan has noted this and argues that

> The comic parts serve the serious parts by illustrating the allegory, and by underlining the moral teachings through parody and negative example. The vulgarities indulged in by the comic characters cannot be regarded as a sign that the moral aspects of the play are not to be taken seriously, even though Mercy is occasionally held up to ridicule in such passages. The certainty of the ultimate triumph of the Good prevented the medieval audience from being too much disturbed at its momentary discomfort.[3]

I believe, as does Coogan, that one purpose of comedy was to highlight, by comparison, the order and piety of the Virtues.[4] With the advent of professional players, who were required to earn a living, comedy was perceived to be a means whereby actors (and playwrights) could ensure a paying audience.

Another theme in *Mankind*, as in *The Castle of Perseverance*, appears to concern those who seek to enter a class into which they were not born. This is illustrated in the text where Mankind argues the appropriateness of "Every man for hys degre" (190). This defends the feudalistic idea that it is God's desire that a person is born into a certain class and that it is going against His will to wish to enter another. While there is obviously a religious basis to this conservatism, this insistence upon the demarcation of the classes was enjoying great popularity at the time of *Mankind*. Literature in this genre has become known as estates satire, where a person's "estate or class ... may be determined not only by their birth and occupation, but also by clerical or marital status".[5] While work in the genre includes *Piers Plowman*, the greatest example by

---

3 Sister M.P. Coogan, *An Interpretation of the Moral Play, Mankind*, Washington, 1947, pp. 108-9.

4 See page 140 of this chapter for more detail concerning the relationship between comedy and vice.

5 Jill Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1973, p.3.

far is Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, where the prologue contains the often stereotypical descriptions of the characters. There are similar characterisations in *Mankind*. The three young Vices, Nought, Nowadays, and New Guise can be identified, for example, both with the traditional gallants of morality plays, as well as with characters such as Chaucer's Merchant. The Vices' commercial skills are shown in their dealings with Mankind's coat and the sale of the remaining fabric, and their dishonesty in failing to return the resulting funds to Mankind. There are many references to gallants and their absorption with fashion. The sumptuary laws had been reinstituted at the time of *Mankind*, and it may the flouting of these laws that caused, in part, the gallant to be figured as a Vice character.[6]

In general, in morality plays, one would expect to find allegorically named characters and a plot which has the Virtues and Vices struggling for possession of Mankind's soul. In a play like *Mankind,* one may observe a play whose humour overshadowed its other elements and which could successfully integrate contemporary references, personages and concerns. The possibility may, therefore, have occurred to the playwrights that these elements may be united and traditional elements (standard moral plot, allegorical figures, and the like) removed or subsumed. We know that certain of these secular elements gained predominance, as in *Kynge Johan* in 1536. In this play, non-allegorical figures are introduced (such as King John) and, while the plot is essentially the same as the Macro plays, the play was now also used to promote royal propaganda. A secular ruler had appropriated the morality genre.

The ostensible purpose of morality plays is to educate the audience that the Vices have persuasive evils that must be recognised and avoided, and that God will forgive any sincerely repentant sinner. One would anticipate, therefore, that the Virtue characters would be shown in the most favourable light, to encourage the audience

---

[6] See below for more detail of the sumptuary laws.

towards their example. The authors of these plays have, however, shown the Vices in a very humorous and entertaining way, perhaps to illustrate the Vices' persuasive evils. *Mankind* is very unusual in that satire and scatological references dominate all other elements in the text. There are, therefore, a number of practices that indicate that *Mankind* has a high incidence of humour and social commentary and that the author is using these elements to comment on the social changes occurring at this time.

The characters Mankind, Mercy, the N-Vices, Mischief and Titivillus and their costumes, will now be discussed in more detail.

* * *

I. Mankind

It is Mankind, a farmer, who succumbs to sin. Unlike Humanum Genus, Mankind battles the Vices and only submits after being tricked by the N-Vices. Mankind attacks them with his spade and causes them to flee. Titivillus, after frustrating Mankind by placing a board in the earth so he cannot dig, causes Mankind to dream that Mercy has been hanged for horse theft. This then induces Mankind to return to the Vices and ask to join their crew.

I believe that it is not Mankind's behaviour that is his greatest sin but rather the rejection of God's plans for him. This is apparent in his rejection of his "estate", leaving his honest farm labour to become an idle man, concerned only with fashion and his own personal pleasure and gratification. This rejection is illustrated through Mankind's laying down of the spade. This spade is iconographically important as it recalls not only Jesus after the Resurrection (where he is mistaken for a gardener) but also Adam with his spade which "symbol[izes] his doom of ceaseless toil".[7] Adam too, was punished for rejecting God's will to satisfy personal wishes.

Mankind's costume indicates his changing estate. As with other morality plays, simplicity, fullness and length of costume indicate moral worth, while decoration, brevity and fashion denote immorality. In his opening scenes, Mankind is dressed, rather interestingly, in a "syde gown" (671). A side-gown is a garment worn on top of the tunic and hose. It was usually long (but not to the ground, as this would contravene sumptuary laws inscribed in the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* of 1363) full and loose with wide sleeves.[8] This is rather a strange costume (according to Craik, "a

---

7 M.D. Anderson, *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1963, p.176.

8 The reference to the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* is from F. W. Fairholt, *Costume in England: A History of Dress to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 1, George Bell and Sons, London, 1885, p.162.

dress of unusual gravity") for a simple farmer.[9] It is likely therefore, that this gown is intended to symbolize Mankind's moral respectability. The sober garments that were worn in Barclay's version of *The Ship of Fools* have this significance: "His honeste deuyse/ His clothynge expresseth his inwarde prudence".[10] While there is no evidence within the text, it is possible that this robe would have been fashioned from homespun, to emphasise that Mankind is a farmer, honest and simple, since homespun is, as the name indicates, a yarn spun at home, coarse and loosely woven and probably of wool. If Mankind's costume were of this type and shape, it would indicate his great modesty, a feature of a Virtue character, particularly when this modesty is allied with his verbose speeches, in praise of God, reminiscent of Mercy. These speech patterns later alter and become more like those of Mischief.[11] Language changes occur after Mankind has been tempted by Titivillus.

The language changes are apparent, according to Lynne Beene, in both Mankind's and Mercy's use of an impersonal, rhetorical style. She further states that "The quatrains show a complex structure of embedded clauses". This impersonal style shows that Mankind and his concerns are divorced from worldly interference and that he has his mind on a higher ideal. After Mankind's fall from grace, his language patterns echo those of the Vices. Mankind's topics of conversation revolve around bodily functions and there is no longer any effort to use the impersonal style; "I" is used with increasing frequency.[12] This usage indicates that Mankind has become self-centred; he has claimed individual autonomy. His main purpose is now to satisfy his own wants and, in this way, he is showing that he has grown worldly.

---

9 T.W. Craik, *The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume and Acting,* Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1958, p.83.

10 Sebastian Brandt, *The Ship of Fools,* 1509, Alexander Barclay (trans.), Phyllis C. Robinson (ed.), August Heckscher, Seal Harbor, Maine, 1982, p.39.

11 Lynne Dianne Beene, 'Language Patterns in *Mankind*', *The University of South Florida Language Quarterly,* Vol 21, No. 3-4, Spring/ Summer, 1983, p.25-29.

12 Beene, p.28.

Language features are not the only change in Mankind as he assumes Vice characteristics. As is traditional in morality plays, when a character suffers a (moral) personality change, their outer appearance changes. The relationship between evil and fashion is strongly reinforced through the Macro plays. High fashion can give a number of signals, none of which are positive. Fashion implies constant change and the waste resulting from each change. Time is spent unworthily in pursuing fashion, detracting from more worthy activities. Fashion, as well as being wasteful of time and materials, is expensive, and personal adornment is paramount over all other considerations. Fashion is related to evil in that it sets self gratification above all else. As previously mentioned, costume changes with characters who, becoming evil, assume tighter, shorter and above all, more fashionable, dress. This occurs in *Wisdom, The Castle of Perseverance* and *Mankind.*

Mankind's costume would have been considered outrageous, as he is now with the Vices. Contemporary outrage concerning fashion was caused not just by the cut of the garments but by their decoration. The sumptuary laws were revived under the rule of Richard II.[13] These laws were established primarily to retain class demarcation. Previously, according to Elizabeth Hurlock, the upper class "displayed their superiority by abstaining from any form of productive labour".[14] She relates that as trade and commerce became more important, and the merchant class became increasingly wealthy, it became necessary to create a new differentiation between the classes. With the merchants' new wealth, "extravagance became so universal that the Church and the Crown thought it necessary to put some check on the ostentatious display of the newly rich".[15] The sumptuary laws of Richard II declared that no individual of a

---

13 Elizabeth B. Hurlock, 'Sumptuary Laws', in M.E. Roach and J.B Eicher. (ed.), *Dress, Adornment and the Social Order,* John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1965, p.295.

14 Hurlock, p.295.

15 Hurlock, p.295.

> lower estate than a knight banneret was ... permitted to wear cloth of gold or velvet, or to appear in a gown that reached to the ground, or to wear large sleeves, or to use upon his dress the furs of either ermine or marten; while gold and silver ornaments were strictly forbidden to all who were not possessed of two hundred pounds in goods and chattels, or twenty pounds per annum. Gowns and other garments cut into the form of leaves and other figures at their edges, or ornamented with letters or devices, were altogether condemned ... while the unlucky tailor who manufactured such finery was rendered liable to imprisonment during the royal pleasure![16]

While these threats may appear to be severe, they were not often enforced. Although it is not known how fanciful it may be, Thomas Hoccleve (1368/9-1450), in a satirical poem on the pride of serving men in their fashionable garments and of the wastefulness in clothing, tells that men "walke in gownes of scarlet,/ xij ȝerdes wyd, wit pendant sleues downe/ On þe grounde, & þe furrour þer-in set/ Amountyng vnto twenty pound or bet".[17] There is a difficulty in assessing the truth of Hoccleve's words, as he was always notoriously short of funds, and therefore apt to exaggerate another's wealth.[18] Concerning fashion and the waste of cloth, he also adds:

> Also ther is another newe get,
> A foul wast of cloth and excessyf;
> Ther goth no lesse in a mannes tipet
> Than a brood cloth a yerde, by my lif.[19]

It is possible that fashion was considered so unfavourably at the time because it contravened sumptuary laws. It is more likely, however, that it was the behaviour and sin (for example, vanity and pride) resulting from the pursuit of fashion that caused the relationship between fashion and immorality to be formed. William Staunton, in his *St Patrick's Purgatory*, written about 1409,

---

16 Fairholt, Vol.1, p.162. Fairholt reports these specifications in the laws but does not supply details about their origin.

17 Frederick J. Furnivall, *Hoccleve's Works*, E.E.T.S., Extra Series 72, 1897, Kraus Reprint Co., Millwood, New York, 1973, p.16, st.61.

18 Furnivall, *Hoccleve's Works*, p.xi.

19 Furnivall, *Hoccleve's Works*, p.17, st. 65.

describes the punishment inflicted upon the sinful who delighted in fashion:

> And Seint John said, 'þo yender is a grete fire and styngkyng, and certeyn, were it possible þat all 'þe' people in þe world, men, women, and children, felden þe smych of yender fire, þei shuld not endure so long with hire lifes as a man shuld turne his honde vp and downe; þerfore go we bitwene þe fire and þe wynde, and loke wel what þou seist þeryn.'
>
> And þan I went so nygh þat y myght know what maner of paynes were þeryn; and þere y saw þilk fire brynneng diuerse men and women, and summe þat y knew when þei levid in þe world, / as it appered there to my sight. I saw summe there with colors of gold abowte here neckis and sum of siluer; and summe men y saw with gay girdels of siluer and gold and harneist hornes abowte here neckes; summe with mo iagges on here clothis þan hole cloth; sum hire clothis ful of gyngeles and belles of siluer al oversette, and summe with long pokes on hire sleves; and women with gownes trayleng bihinde hem a moche space; and summe other with gay c[h]apeletes on hir hedes of gold and perles and other precious stones. And þan I loked on him þat y saw first in payn, and saw the colers and the gay girdels and bawderikes brennyng and the fendes draying hem bi ij. fyngermele and more withynne here flessh, al brynneng as fire; and y saw þe iagges þat men were clothed ynne turne al to addres, to dragons, and to todes, and many other orrible bestes, sowkyng hem and bityng hem and styngyng hem with al here myght; and thorowout euery gyngel I saw fendes smyte brennyng nayles of fire into here flessh. I saw also fendes drawyng down þe skynne of here shulders like to pokes and kittyng hem of and drawyng hem to þe hedes of whom þai cut þem fro, al brynnyng as fire. And þo I saw þe women þat had side trayles byhinde hem, and þo side trayles cut of with fendes and ybrent on here hedes; and summe toke of / þe cuttyng all brennyng and stopped þerwith here mowþis, hire noses, and hire eres. I saw also hire gay chapeletes of gold, of perlous and other precious stones yturned into nailes of yren brennyng, and fendes with brennyng hamers smytyng hem into hire hedes.[20]

---

20 Robert Easting (ed.), *St Patrick's Purgatory* (Royal MS. 17B 43), Early English Text Society, no. 298, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991, pp. 86-88 (165-190).

The 'Balad against excess in apparel especially in the Clergy', is said to be from the latter part of the reign of Henry VI (1422-1461).[21] While primarily concerned with the Clergy, the first two stanzas relate to the laity:

> Ye prowd galantts hertlesse,
> With your hygh cappis witlesse,
> And your schort gownys thriftlesse,
> Have brought this lond in gret hevynesse.
>
> With your long peked shone,
> Therfore your thrifte is almost don;
> And your longe here in to your eyen,
> Have brought this lond to gret pyne.

Fairholt describes a drawing by Gough in *Sepulchral Monuments*, from the walls of the Hungerford Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral. Gough's drawing portrays a fashionable young man with Death, a skeleton. Accompanying the original painting were two stanzas.
The gallant is saying:

> "Alasse, Dethe, alasse, a blesful thyng þu were
> Yf thow wolldyst spare us yn our lustynesse"

Death is responding with:

> "Graseles gallante in all thy luste and pride,
> Remember þat thow ones schalte dye".[22]

This young gallant is wearing a tight jacket, cut very short, and girdled at the waist. The sleeves of this jacket are very full and and puffed at the tops, yet slashed down their length to display the shirt beneath. This shirt is cut on the full and the under-sleeves are partially pulled through the slashed top sleeves to form tiny puffs down the length of the outer arm. The gallant also wears a hat with a single feather.[23] His hair is long and full and he wears crackows (now called "poulaines"). Again, according to Fairholt,

---

[21] 'Balad against excess in apparel especially in the clergy', Harleian ms. 372 in Fairholt, p.180.

[22] Fairholt, p.180.

[23] In stage directions in Ulpian Fulwell's, *Like Will to Like*, 1568, J.S. Farmer (ed.), Tudor Facsimile Texts, London, 1909, reprinted by AMS Press, New York, 1970, qu. B1 recto, "Tom Tospot commeth in with a fether in his Hat".

poulaines were prohibited to all "under the estate of squire or gentleman, [who] were not permitted to wear [the toes of their shoes] more than two inches in length".[24] Fairholt quotes Paridin who relates the flouting of this law, declaring that the toes of the shoes were sometimes two feet long, and Monstrelet who relates that boys wore them in 1467 an ell in length.

In drama contemporaneous to *Mankind,* the gallant, a young man in the prime of life, is often seen, at best, as a fool. The relationship between youth and foolishness must surely relate back to the parable of the Prodigal Son of the New Testament, where the son claims his inheritance then wastes it on high living, returning to his family as a pauper. From an earlier period than *Mankind,* the squire in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is a young man, "recheles". He tells a tale of love and chivalry, appropriate to the fashion and estate of the squire. The squire himself is dressed in a short gown with long wide sleeves. It is embroidered all over with red and white flowers; like the young man in the Hungerford Chapel, his hair is carefully curled. In the late fifteenth century poem, 'A treatise of a Galaunt', the gallant is the embodiment of all vice through the "newe dyssymulacyon":

> For in thys name Galaunt ye maye expresse.
> Seuen letters for some cause in especyall
> That fygureth the vii. deedly synnes & theyr wretchednes,
> By whome man is made/ to the deuyll thrall.
> Was not pryde cause of Lucyfers fall
> Pryde is in hell/ and galauntes nygheth them nere
> That Englande may wayle/ that euer it came here. [25]

Barclay, in his translation of *The Ship of Fools,* has a section called "Of newe passions and disguised garmentes":

> As yonge gentylmen descended of worthy auncestry
> Whiche go ful wantonly in dissolute aray,
> Counterfayt, disgised, and moche unmanerly.
> Blasinge, and garded to lowe or else to hye,

---

[24] Fairholt, p.181.

[25] 'W. de Worde's A Treatise of a Galaunt' in F.J. Furnivall (ed.), *Ballads from Manuscripts,* Vol 1, The Ballad Society, London, 1868, p.447, St. IX (57-62).

And wyde without mesure, theyr stuffe to waste thus gothe:
But othe some they suffer to dye for lacke of clothe.

Some theyr neckes charged with colers, and chaynes
As golden: with these theyr fyngers ful of rynges,
Theyr sleves blasinge lyke to a Cranys wynges.
Thus by this devysinge such counterfayted thinges,
They dysfourme that figure that God hymselfe hath made:
On pryde and abusion thus are theyr myndes layde.[26]

A number of issues and perceptions arise from this passage. Brandt, through Barclay's translation, equates sin (particularly "pryde") with excessively fashionable array. He claims that it is the young who have had the benefit of education and a good upbringing, as implied in "yong gentylmen discended of worthy auncestry", who are at fault in this matter. Brandt also indicates some features of fashion: the clothes are "wanton", "dissolute" and "moche unmanerly" and "garded" either too high or too low, clearly immodest. He also believed that the clothing used excessive fabric ("And wyde without mesure, theyr stuffe to waste thus gothe"), particularly when others were dying from exposure ("but othe some they suffer to dye for lacke of clothe"). Brandt also does not approve of the extravagant adornment; the young men wear too many collars and chains around their necks and too many rings. They have decorated their wide sleeves, so that they resemble "Cranys wynges"; possibly these have been dagged so that the ends are like feathers. Lastly, Brandt states that these young men have committed sin in that they have rejected God's choice for them, not in their social class (since they are "gentylmen") but in rejecting their body's natural shape, "They dysfourme that figure that God Hymselfe hath made", and in doing so they lay their minds open to pride and "abusion". Pride is, of course, one of the Seven Deadly Sins and is considered evil because, as indicated, it is a rejection of God's intentions. The proud believe that they are God's equal in knowledge and it was for this that Lucifer was expelled from

---

[26] Brandt, *The Ship of Fools*, p.8.

Heaven. Wearing fashionable, distorting fashion is, therefore, a morally dangerous activity.

Chaucer mentions dagging in *The Parson's Tale* where he speaks scathingly of contemporary fashion, decrying the waste of cloth and the fashionable treatments that limit the practicality of the garments: "they wolde yeven switch pownsoned and dagged clothyng to the povre folk, it is nat convenient to were" (421-423).[27]

It is unlikely that the gallant was purely a literary/ dramatic device. Peter Idley, in his *Instruction to His Son*, a mid-fifteenth-century instructional, bids his son beware of sins that may lead to the devil and makes many satirical comments on modern hairstyles: "the heere is not shorn/ But hangeth downe to the browe beforn/ Like to an hors toppe of the Irisshe facion:/ We be called the verri aapes of euery nacion" (25-28).[28] He is also scathing of the short clothes then fashionable: "They be cutted on the buttok even aboue the rompe./ Euery good man truely suche shappe lothes;/ It maketh hym a body short as a stomp,/ And if they shull croke, knele, othir crompe,/ To the middes of the backe the gowne woll not reche" (44-48).[29] Thus there is need to take care not to be so taken with the "novelries of this newe guyse" (240) that the devil may enter and tempt the wearer into sin.

In literature, art, drama and society therefore, there was a great tradition of fashionable costume being considered sinful. Fashion was thought to tempt the individual to pride, weakness and other sins. It was felt to be a glorification of the fleshly body at the expense of the soul.

The gallant was a figure who was not to be trusted. In addition to this, the gallant in the Macro plays sinned in that he had left his intended place, ordered by God. Mankind was a farmer, yet when he

---

27 Larry D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1987, p.300.

28 Charlotte d'Evelyn (ed.), Peter Idley's *Instructions to His Son*, Monograph Series 6, Modern Language Association of America, Boston, 1935, p. 159.

29 d'Evelyn, p. 159.

sinned, he dressed in the clothes of a wealthy, idle man. It was considered a sin for a person to dress above the rank into which he was born, as Peter Idley warns his son:

> Eche man to kenne hymsilf and his better,
> A page, a grome, a grome, a yoman by right,
> As the A. B. C. is made in ordre by lettyr,
> A yoman, a squyer, and a squyer, a knyght,
> And so to the highest and grettest of might;
> And as they be in ordre set of degree,
> Right so shall her clothyng and arraie bee. (64-70)[30]

In addition to any intentions that the author may have had concerning the moral message of fashionable costume, the stage business of the shortening of Mankind's coat adds to the comic effect of the play.

When Mankind first comes into the company of the three N-Vices, he is persuaded to relinquish his coat on the promise that he would have it returned to him as "a fresch jakett after þe new gyse" (676) and that it is indeed so full that he "may haue a jakett þerof, and mony tolde" (672) from the sale of the excess fabric. Although Mankind never received the money, the garment was returned to him by New Guise, who had had it transformed into a shorter jacket that probably would have hung to the hip. The garment does not, however, reach Nought's specifications, as he abuses it as "not schapyn worth a morsell of brede;/ Ther ys to moche cloth, yt weys as ony lede" (698-99). Nought leaves with the coat but soon returns with what he describes as a "joly jakett" (718). New Guise agrees, calling it a "goode jake of fence for a mannys body", declaring that Mankind is now "well made for to ren" (719 and 721). Mankind's legs would therefore probably be fully exposed.

Mankind's coat, since it seems merely to be shortened (according to the Vices' comments), is perhaps the same coat pinned up at each alteration to expose more of Mankind. Mankind could then resume his original costume easily once he had become reconciled with

---

[30] d'Evelyn, p.160.

Mercy. Pinning the coat would, however, cause the shortened garment to be very bulky. Since Mankind's outfit may have been homespun, it is possible that this fabric was cheap enough to allow for even the poorest acting company to have three separate outfits. This would mean that the gowns could also be narrower at each alteration as well as shorter, and, given the time it would take to pin the garment up, it would probably be quicker to assume another coat. Whatever the method used to change the appearance of Mankind's jacket, it is very possible, despite a lack of any evidence, that his original garment is restored at his return to grace, as happens in *Wisdom.*

* * *

II. The Virtues

a. Mercy

Mercy is the sole Virtue character in this play and the first character to enter the acting area. He immediately establishes his credentials, launching into an abbreviated version of the death of Christ, dwelling particularly on the sin of Mankind. Mercy calls himself the means of "restytucyon" that will restore a sinning Mankind to the grace of God. Mercy also speaks Latin, "[his] body ys full of Englysch Laten" (124). He is called a "worschyppull clerke" (129). These references may all point to a costume for Mercy, namely clerical vestments. Paula Neuss believes that Mercy dressed as a priest would have been very effective theatrically, as this would create the picture of a normal sermon.[31] She believes that the possibly tedious sermonizing would distract the audience's attention and, in not paying sufficient attention to God's

31 Paula Neuss, 'Active and Idle Language: Dramatic Images in *Mankind'*, N. Denny (ed.), *Medieval Drama* , Edward Arnold, London, 1973, p.45.

word, they would be committing various sins, indicating that they too would share in Mankind's fate. As the only Virtue character in this play, it would also be appropriate for Mercy to be wearing priestly garb, since this would indicate a human character (as opposed to Christ or an angel) who is very moral. Clifford Davidson has commented that "saints whose lives were lived after the times of the apostles were normally presented in ecclesiastical vestments".[32] Mercy, being of perhaps equal stature, would probably follow this pattern. He also appears in *The Castle of Perseverance*, but in this play is a female, one of the Daughters of God, appearing in a "sad grene" gown.

It is unlikely that Mercy would be dressed similarly to the Monk in *The Canterbury Tales*, as this monk is very concerned with his wealth, his pets and his fashionable clothing.[33] Mercy may be equated with Chaucer's Parson. The Parson, too, gives a sermon on penitence and also speaks, in a rather verbose fashion, on the Seven Deadly Sins. Like Mercy, the Parson is devout and firm in his intentions. Like the Parson when mocked by Harry Bailey the Host, Mercy, when taunted by Mischief, remains unmoved. If Mercy were dressed as a country parson, rather than a member of a monastery, he may have been vested in the cassock, worn by the clergy since 705 when the Pope "bid the English clergy to change their 'full gathered lay habit' for the long straight cassocks worn by the Roman priests".[34] Having Mercy dressed in the cassock of a simple parson may also have served to remove him from any possible association with the wealth of religious institutions and its (occasional) corruption in the upper hierarchy, perhaps expressing a sympathy with Wycliffe and the Lollard movement.

---

32 Clifford Davidson, *Drama and Art*, Early Drama, Art and Music, series I, Kalamazoo, 1977, p.91. Davidson uses various examples of this from medieval art.

33 See P. J. Eberle, 'Commercial Language and the Commercial Outlook in the *General Prologue*', *The Chaucer Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1983, pp.161-174 for a fuller description.

34 A.W. Hadden and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol III, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1871, p.264. The original is "...ut voluntarie omnes Anglorum clerici...laicalem et sinuosum sed et cunctum habitum deponentes, talares tunicas secundum Romanum morem induerent".

* * *

III. The Vices

a. The N-Vices
(Nought, Nowadays and New Guise)

The N-Vices, Nought, Nowadays and New Guise are, as their allegorical names suggest, absorbed with all that is fashionable, not only clothing but modern manners and behaviour. These characters must be wearing garments, therefore, that are the height of fashion. Contemporary illustrations of costume, such as those mentioned in the section dealing with Mankind, would be appropriate also to these Vices. While there is no evidence in the text, it is possible that they were, as henchmen to Mischief and Titivillus, in colours which demonstrated their positions, as a type of livery. Possible colours will be discussed in the section dealing with Titivillus.

G. Wickham, in *English Moral Interludes,* thinks it likely that "in performance, Nought entered dressed up in a pantomime bearskin with a detachable head".[35] The particular passage that interests Wickham (between lines 70 and 80) is directly after a lost leaf in the manuscript, and does not contain stage directions. Wickham states that "in [his] view [the introduction of the N-Vices] is a deliberate parody of a bearward and his dancing bear. New Guise, escorted by the piper, thus enters in the role of bearward and Nought in that of a bear: Now-a-Days is employed by New Guise to prod or whip Nought into giving an amusing performance". The only evidence he provides is "A picture of just such a scene - musician with pipes, trainer with whip, a third man and a bear at the end of

---

35 Glynne Wickham, *English Moral Interludes,* J. M. Dent and Sons, London, 1976, p.5.

a rope ... printed by Joseph Strutt in *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England.*" This work was, however, published three hundred years after *Mankind,* in 1810.[36] I believe that although there is insufficient evidence to support Wickham's argument, it is an interesting hypothesis to consider, as Nought in a bear suit would reinforce his animalistic nature for the audience. Wickham does not speculate as to why the other Vices are not displaying their bestial natures. It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which Wickham envisages the costume's complexity. If he anticipates that the costume for a bear is merely a full-or half-mask, I believe that this would be possible. It would not be feasible for the costume to cover the whole body as well as the face. From the evidence of the players calling for a collection to be taken for their performance, it appears unlikely that they would have been sponsored, to any large extent, by civic or clerical authorities. A full bear suit would presumably have been quite expensive to manufacture. Sufficient fur to completely clothe a man would be difficult to find on any other single beast, as well as it being reasonably difficult to create a realistic suit.[37] In addition to this, as the players seem to be performing at an inn, it is unlikely that they would have had a fixed stage area, and equally possible that they would have had to travel to various cities in order to earn a sustainable livelihood. As there appear to be no other plays that require a bear suit, and as it is possible that the players would have had to travel, a full body bear suit would not

---

36 Unfortunately, as I have not been able to view this work myself, I am not able to judge the age of the illustration. Wickham's argument would be stronger if the illustration were from the medieval period, merely reproduced in 1810.

37 While there is no contemporary evidence of the wearing of bear suits, in 1611, Ben Jonson's *Masque of Oberon, the Fairy Prince* was produced. A bear appeared in this performance but there is no indication as to whether it was a real bear, or an actor in costume. C. H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson have commented on this, and appear to imply that the bear was real, citing a number of plays from that year which featured bears: "A bear appeared in *The Winter's Tale* acted, like the present masque [*Oberon*], in 1611; there were Court performances on 15 May and 5 November. Possibly too the bear in the revised *Mucedorus* appeared this year". It is possible that they are indicating that it was a particular bear that could be hired at that time. There does not seem to be any indication that this could be a costumed actor. C. H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson (ed.), *Ben Jonson,* Vol. 10, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1950, from note to Act III, Scene III, l. 58 of the *Masque of Oberon the Fairy Prince,* p.527.

have been practical as a costume; its use would be limited in any repertoire, it would be bulky (a bear head would have to be at least half a metre in diameter) and it would be an expensive initial outlay. While there are no records indicating the existence of a bear suit, there are many references to bear-baiting in and around the Cambridge area. In 1595, for example, there was a complaint lodged that the Elephant Inn in Cambridge was causing disturbances by allowing bear-baiting to occur in its precincts: "beare baightinge and by yat occasyon a great disordred multitude of schollers and townsmen and other persons vnlawfully assembled ...".[38] The noise and disorder of a busy inn may have elicited in the minds of the audience the excitement and confusion of a bear bait. For practical reasons then, it is very possible that Nought had some personal property, such as a face mask, to costume him as a bear, but it is unlikely that he wore a full bear suit.

* * *

b. Mischief

Mischief is Titivillus' chief follower and a disciple of the "fende". As such, his costume is open to much speculation. It is possible that Mischief is wearing a devil's outfit, even though there is no evidence in the play to support this. David Bevington states that Mischief and the Vices "make jokes at the expense of the auditors and exit with farewells to them" and that the actors "shoulder their way through the spectators": "Make rom, sers, for we haue be longe" (331).[39] Using this information, and from these actions, Sandra Billington argues that Mischief is "possibly the only one

---

[38] Alan H. Nelson (ed.), *Cambridge*, R.E.E.D., University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1989, p.362.

[39] David Bevington, *Mankind to Marlowe*, Harvard University Press, London, 1962, p.15.

dressed as a fool", perhaps wearing a peaked headdress, tights, possibly with different coloured legs, a bladder or a stick and bells.[40] Charlotte Spivac does not specify whether she believes Mischief would be wearing a fool's costume. Spivac argues that the link between comedy and the Vices is important as "only by knowing the true nature of evil (the absence of good) can one resist its misleading allure ..., attesting this knowledge attests as well this immunity".[41] Spivac thus summarizes the early philosophers' ideas of the link between comedy and evil. Comedy is a very powerful weapon in the hands of the playwright. Comedy, humour, and entertainment are pleasurable, and psychologically, what is pleasurable will be sought for repetition. The audience's focus in *Mankind* is drawn away from the worth of Mercy and redirected by the seduction of comedy. By enjoying the escapades of the Vices, the members of the audience are, in effect, showing their allegiance to them and indicating, albeit unintentionally, their relationship with Mankind. Theatrically, this is very effective. The audience cannot blame Mankind for succumbing to the Vices, as they themselves have followed suit. By understanding the ease by which one may be seduced by comedy, pleasure and the Vices, the audience have personal reinforcement of the message that they must strive to oppose sin in their own lives and must always seek redemption for any sins committed. By the medieval period, the idea that comedy and evil were connected was so well established that the image of the Vice, Mischief, dressed as a fool, the traditional costume of the comic, would excite no comment.

Mischief might also be dressed as a fashionable man. As he enters the stage through the audience, having secreted himself, presumably, within its midst, this costume would be more effective than a fool's costume, as the fool's costume would prevent Mischief from mingling with the audience. The costume of a common, albeit fashionable, man would have a great theatrical

---

40 Sandra Billington, '"Suffer Fools Gladly": The Fools in Mediæval England and *Mankind*'. In *The Fool and the Trickster*, P. William (ed.), D. S. Brewer, Cambridge and Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, 1979, p.46.

41 Charlotte Spivac, *The Comedy of Evil on Shakespeare's Stage*, Associated University Presses, London, 1978, p.26.

advantage as it could perhaps add extra shock for the audience if one of their number showed himself to be an evil character. This would highlight Mercy's initial warning to Mankind to beware of those dressed fashionably, "be ware of excesse./ þe superfluouse gyse I wyll þat 3e refuse" (238-9). Paula Neuss agrees, commenting that not only was it not unusual for actors to secrete themselves in the audience but that by doing this, "the audience is given a visual example, or personification, of the kind of evil interference of which Mercy has been speaking and which they themselves had helped cause, their impatience [presumably with the moralizing of Mercy] being objectified in the character, Mischief".[42] It is therefore most likely that Mischief too is dressed in fashionable garb.

* * *

c. Titivillus

The final character is Titivillus, a devil. Titivillus first appears in a Latin sermon of the fourteenth century, attributed to Dominican Petrus of Palude. According to G. R. Owst, the two most common stories about Titivillus appear in the exempla of Jacques de Vitry.[43] In de Vitry's first story, Titivillus is a devil carrying a bag, who tells a holy man that the bag is full of the words, syllables and verses of psalms that lazy priests missed as they spoke the mass. In de Vitry's second tale, Titivillus is seen by a priest trying to stretch out his parchment with his teeth in order that more idle words spoken in church could be recorded.[44]

---

42 Paula Neuss, 'Active and Idle Language...', p.46.

43 G.R. Owst *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* , 2nd ed., Barnes and Noble, New York, 1961, p.513 quotes Thomas T. Crane (ed.), *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, Folklore Society Publications, 26, D.Nutt, London, 1890, p.6.

44 For a full account of Titivillus, see Kathleen M. Ashley, 'Titivillus and the Battle of Words in *Mankind*', *Annuale Mediaevali*, part 16, 1975, pp. 128-150.

Titivillus also appears in Ely Cathedral on a carved misericord and is shown in the act of collecting gossip from two women in church. The costume of Titivillus here is difficult to ascertain due to the poor preservation of the wood.

There is little direct evidence of Titivillus' costume and properties in *Mankind* but it is known that he carries a "nett" (303) and in all probability, wears a mask or "hede" (461). To deal first with "nett"; in lines 303-4, Mercy warns Mankind that Titivillus will "cast a nett befor yowr ey". The net was used by Titivillus to ensnare evil doers by collecting bad language and intentions (gossip in particular), as indicated above from the Jacques de Vitry exempla and the Ely Cathedral misericord. Titivillus' collected words were put into a pouch to be recalled on the Day of Judgement.

It seems to be generally assumed that devils' costumes were quite well fitting and this is born out by various illustrations of devils, particularly in psalters. While it is not certain what costumes the devils wore, it is known that they did wear leather. The Coventry Smiths in 1477 paid xxijd "for mendyng the demons Garment [and] ... for newe ledder [for] the same Garment".[45] It is also known that devils' garments were painted or dyed. Earlier, in 1451, the Smiths of Coventry paid vs iijd "for þe demons garment makyng and þ[e] stof" then an additional viijd "for collyryng of þe same garment".[46] Presumably leather was used as it enabled the suit to be tight fitting yet flexible. Laver has elaborated on this, claiming that "sometimes... the Devil was shown covered with hair, as if to demonstrate his lineal descent from the ancient satyrs; sometimes he wore leather, sometimes black cloth, or a mixture of black and red to suggest the flames of hell. Sometimes he was covered with feathers, but this seems to have been unusual".[47] This colour combination for the devil is not unique. In *All For Money,* written by

---

45 R.W. Ingram (ed.), *Coventry,* R.E.E.D., University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1981, p.60.

46 Ingram (ed.), *Coventry,* R.E.E.D., p.24.

47 J. Laver, *Costume in the Theatre,* George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., London, 1964, p.46.

Thomas Lupton in 1577, Damnation "shal haue a terrible vysard on his face, and his garment shalbe painted with flames of fire".[48] There is historical evidence to show that the devil may also be wearing green. M. Rudwin has commented that there is a Spanish saying "as green as the devil". C. Luttrel and others have used the evidence from *Sir Gawain and The Green Knight* to argue also that the devil wears green.[49] This is possibly where "green means jealousy" is derived, since it was jealousy of God's power that caused Lucifer to try to equal Him. There does, however, appear to be little clear evidence of English devils wearing green. While the Green Knight indubitably wears green, there is still speculation as to whether he is actually meant to be a devil. It seems more likely that Titivillus, rather than wearing green, is wearing the black and red which even today are associated with evil. The Coventry Smith's Pageant of *The Trial, Condemnation and Crucifixion of Christ* (1490) lists "ij party Jakketts of Rede and Blake" which were possibly worn by Christ's tormentors and "iiij Jakketts of Blake bokeram for þe tormentors with nayles & dysse upon þem".[50]

There is extensive evidence of Titivillus wearing a mask. It is probable that it is the mask covering the actor's head that causes it to be so large; he is "a man wyth a hede þat ys of grett omnipotens" (461). Particular examples of devils wearing masks are in Nottingham Castle Museum.[51] There a fourteenth century alabaster carving shows one of the tormentors of Christ sporting a mask with horns. Other masks had snouts and bestial features, added to convey the idea of the devil's animalistic nature. The

---

48 Thomas Lupton's *All For Money*, 1578, J.S. Farmer (ed.), Tudor Facsimile Texts, London, 1910, reprinted by AMS Press, New York, 1970, p. 10.

49 M. Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature*, Open Court Publishing Company, La Salle, Illinois, 1973, p.46 and C. Luttrel, 'The Folktale Element in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 77 (2), April 1980, pp.105-6. Other authors dealing with this topic include D.W. Robertson, 'Why the Devil Wears Green', *Modern Language Notes*, November 1954, Vol. 69, pp.470-2 and D. B. J. Randell, 'Was the Green Knight a Fiend?', *Studies in Philology*, July 1960, Vol. 57 (3), pp.479-84.

50 Ingram (ed.), *Coventry*, R.E.E.D., p.73.

51 These examples were seen by the author on a visit to this location. Unfortunately I have not been able to find them reproduced in any published material.

actual costume would depend on what the producer/ costumer or director envisaged as the most horrible appearance.[52]

Richard Southern has, along with others, suggested that the roles of Titivillus and Mercy were played by the same actor, as these two characters do not appear on stage at the same time.[53] The costumes suggested for these two characters would allow this doubling to be accomplished. Titivillus could be sewn into his skin tight suit and then Mercy's costume, being long and full, could be thrown over the top, effectively concealing any evidence of the devil's costume. When Titivillus was called upon it would be a relatively easy matter to remove Mercy's gown and add a full head mask and perhaps some false hands or claws.

* * *

In conclusion, it may be seen that *Mankind*, while still retaining its traditionally moral messages of sin and redemption, contrives to introduce many instances of social and contemporary concern. Examples of this appear most obviously in references to fashion and its relationship to vice. This relationship is clearly established through the allegorical naming of Nought, Nowadays and New Guise and their conversion of Mankind into both a fashionable fribble and a sinner. These social concerns also exist outside the play in the sumptuary laws. Becoming fashionable necessitated, during this period, abstaining from physical labour, a situation which took Mankind out of his "degre", indicating social upheaval as well as a disobedience to God's will. Further, the performance of *Mankind* in an inn, and the mention of actual

---

52 For more detail on the general visages of devils, refer to the *Wisdom* chapter.

53 R. Southern, *The Staging of Plays before Shakespeare*, Faber and Faber, London, 1973, p.33.

locations, especially when compared to The *Castle of Perseverance* show that the morality plays' emphasis is changing, humour is dominating and commercial concerns are intruding.

CHAPTER 5

WISDOM

Wisdom, also known as *Mind, Will and Understanding* or *A Morality of Wisdom Who is Christ,* is believed from language features to have been written in about the same period as *Mankind.*[1]

While the play appears to be East Anglian in origin, there are many sources for the plot of *Wisdom.* In particular, Walter Smart relates that the first 90 lines are based on *Orologium Sapientiae* by Henry Suso and that Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* (Nottingham, pre-1396) provided many of the ideas and phrases for the play, particularly in lines 103-70 and 1117-58. Latin works used include *Meditationes de Cognitione Humanae Conditionis* and *Tractatus de Interiori Domo*, both originally attributed to St Bernard, *Soliloquium* (St Bonaventure) and *Novem Virtutes* (anon).[2]

Wisdom is a wonderful play for a student of costume to study, in that costumes are mentioned, often in great detail, thus preventing some of the speculation necessary in other plays. Even though there is a great deal of information in the play concerning costuming, no records exist concerning the audience and players of this play. It is possible to speculate, as some critics have done, that the play was linked with the clergy. This supposition is based on the ownership of the manuscript by a monk named Hyngham, as indicated by a Latin inscription at the end of the *Wisdom* text: "O liber si quis cui constas forte queretur/ hynghamque monarcho dices super omnia consto" (Oh book, if any one perhaps asks who you belong to, and you say, I belong, above all, to monk Hyngham). Smart's research suggests that Hyngham was Richard Hyngham, a Benedictine monk of Bury St Edmunds from 1474 to 1479.[3] Smart also believes that *Wisdom* was written for a monastic audience, since "Mights, as monks, are led by the wiles of Lucifer to renounce their vows and

---

1 See chapter 1 for details on the dating of *Wisdom. Wisdom* does not have a title in the Macro manuscript. *Mind, Will and Understanding* was the title given by Thomas Sharp in 1835 and Furnivall gave it its full title of *A Morality of Wisdom Who is Christ*, shortened to *Wisdom* in 1882.

2 Walter K. Smart, *Some English Latin Sources and Parallels for the Morality of Wisdom*, George Banta, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1912.

3 Smart, p.86. See also p. 14 of chapter 1.

return to the common secular life".[4] John Molloy, on the other hand, disagrees, stating that "1) neither the overall theme of *Wisdom*; 2) nor its unity, supports Smart's proposition that the Mights are religious in the temptation scene; 3) the theme of Grace and charity predominant in *Wisdom* is a common theme in medieval literature; 4) the sources of *Wisdom* were written for the lay folk and skilfully adapted by the author of *Wisdom* to suit his purpose".[5] Gail McMurray Gibson has reached no definitive answer on the audience of *Wisdom* but has argued strongly that it was possibly from Bury St Edmunds, an Abbey which has a rich tradition of support for both dramatic performances and musicians. She believes that it is a play that "both directs itself to lay members of its audience as well as dramatising a specific monastic sin - the temptation to abandon the contemplative life".[6] This is particularly obvious in 501 where Lucifer commands the Mights to "Go in þe worlde, se þat abowte".

E. K. Chambers has suggested that this play was performed by schoolboy actors; his supposition is presumably based on the annotations on the back of folio 121. Some of the annotations take the form of the name Rainold Wodles spelt out a in cipher code, where each vowel is substituted by the next letter of the alphabet. In addition to this, there are doodles and an unsuccessful attempt to translate a poem into Latin.[7] Milla Riggio hypothesizes, from the large number of personal visits by King Edward IV to Bury St Edmunds, that *Wisdom*, which she interprets as a "kingship masque", was performed perhaps before the king in 1474. McMurray Gibson, while agreeing with this possibility, argues that the date was probably 1469, when Edward IV travelled to Bury St Edmunds for the first time.[8] As Alexandra Johnston points out, identifying the relationship between the manuscripts and the Abbey, and "assuming the plays to have been written there are different

---

[4] Smart, p.80.

[5] Rev. John J. Molloy, *A Theological Interpretation of the Moral Play Wisdom, Who is Christ*, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 1952, p.198.

[6] Gail McMurray Gibson, 'The Play of *Wisdom* and the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds', *The Wisdom Symposium*, Milla C. Riggio (ed.), AMS Press, New York, p.47-8.

[7] These descriptions are from McMurray Gibson, 39-66.

[8] Milla C. Riggio, 'The Staging of Wisdom', *The Wisdom Symposium*, Milla C. Riggio (ed.), AMS Press, New York, 1986, p.13 and McMurray Gibson, p.57.

matters".[9] Johnston then suggests that the play might have been commissioned from the Abbey by a local magnate. This, she admits, has no firm evidence to recommend it other than that the actors, dancers, and musicians necessary for this play were performers likely to have been in the employ of a secular magnate.[10]

From this survey of the findings of recent scholars, it is likely that the audience was a mixture of the secular and the clerical. What is not clear is the degree of the mixture of classes of the audience.

The preaching, an expected event in a morality play, is combined in *Wisdom* with pageantry and show and it is these elements that no doubt provided the entertainment for the *Wisdom* audience. Pageantry is shown in procession and dance by the Five Wits, the dancers who accompany Mind, Will and Understanding and the seven small devils. These characters' dance creates the visual imagery discussed so admirably by David Bevington in his article '"Blake and Wyght, Fowll and Fayer": Stage Picture in *Wisdom*'.[11] Anima is the primary example of the duality, wearing a white gown (representing good) and having a black mantle over it (representing the sin into which Mankind may descend). In addition to this duality, there is great symmetry in the numbers of dancers that each of the Mights and Anima have accompanying them; elements which, along with the formal staging of the opening and closing scenes, give the pageant-like quality described by Davenport, who speaks of the "allegorical pageant."[12] The costumes of the Mights, Anima and the other main characters appear, from the stage directions, to be both highly important symbolically, and very sumptuous, visually.[13]

While processions and rich fabrics and embroidery are very important aspects of the traditional Church service, when the

---

9 Alexandra Johnston, '*Wisdom* and the Records: Is there a Moral?', *The Wisdom Symposium*, Milla C Riggio (ed.), AMS Press, New York, 1986, p.96.

10 Alexandra Johnston, p.99.

11 David Bevington, '"Blake and Wyght, Fowll and Fayer": Stage Picture in *Wisdom*', Milla C. Riggio (ed.), *The Wisdom Symposium*, AMS Press, New York, 1986, pp.18-38.

12 W.A. Davenport, *Fifteenth Century English Drama: The Early Moral Plays and their Literary Relations*, D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 1982, p.88.

13 See chapter 2, pp.58-60 for the theatrical importance of images and spectacle.

author of *Wisdom* combines them with elements and actions such as the dancing, he is able to transform the Church service's visual elements into a more secular pageant. I believe that it is this transformation that causes confusion in the construction of a hypothetical audience for *Wisdom.* The moral message of *Wisdom* is, of course, important, the traditional theme of innocence, sin and redemption, but it is the pageantry and the visual imagery that are obviously of great importance to the author, as indicated by the care taken in the description of the costumes for each of the characters.

The characters of *Wisdom* are Anima, the Three Mights (Mind, Will, and Understanding), who represent the human character, Wisdom and the Virtues, and the Vices, including the Mights' dancers. There is a shrewd boy and also seven small devils. The characters and their costumes will be described in this order.

* * *

I. Anima

Anima, or Soul, is "a mayde, in a wyght clothe of golde gysely purfyled wyth menyver, a mantyll of blake perwppeon, a cheueler lyke to Wysdom, wyth a ryche chappelet lasyde behynde hangynge down wyth to knottys of golde and syde tasselys, knelynge down to Wysdom" (before 17). Anima is the "spowse" of Wisdom, or Christ, and as such, she says to Him, "a louer of yowr schappe am I wrowte" (20). These sentiments relate back to the husband in Solomon's *Song of Songs,* also a pre-figurement of Christ. Anima may be seen, therefore, to be the derivation of this Biblical symbolism. This has already been made manifestly obvious to the audience through her appearance, which, in certain points, such as the use of cloth-of-gold, resembles Wisdom's. As the "spowse" of Christ, Anima is a "mayde" or virgin and this idea is not only theologically correct but also influences the costuming of this

character. Anima represents the soul of Mankind and, as such, she is neither on a higher religious plane nor innately royal (except as she has been elevated by her marriage to the King of Heaven). Anima is symbolically costumed in contrasting black and white rather than the imperial purple.

The fact that Anima is a "mayde" is possibly one of the reasons for the choice of white cloth-of-gold for her gown. A.W. Fairholt comments in his glossary that cloth-of-gold is "a rich stuff of Eastern manufacture, composed of threads of silk crossed by threads of gold; much valued in the Middle Ages for state dresses".[14] Alison Lurie relates that white indicates "purity and innocence".[15] This colour symbolism is still, of course, used today with the traditional (virginal) bride wearing white.

As the "spowse" of the King of Heaven, Anima's choice of white cloth-of-gold is appropriate. "[C]lothe of golde" was a fabric befitting a queen.[16] Anima's white, gold-threaded gown is thus a blend of royalty and innocence. This gown is handsomely trimmed with miniver, which was the second most costly fur (after ermine), also relegating Anima to second in importance and position to Wisdom.[17] Bevington agrees, commenting that "the Soul can never aspire to what is regal or imperial in God's majesty, that is, to what is manifested as purple, but the Soul's whiteness within is godly. White symbolizes the purity through which Man takes joy in God."[18]

The black mantle over Anima's gown represents the capacity of the Soul to commit sin (as many authors have noted), emphasising her humanity. In this way it indicates that, although Anima is currently in a state of grace and her soul is "clene" (she is in Christ's presence, kneeling to him), she is surrounded by sin, as Mankind is

---

14 F.W. Fairholt, *Costume in England,* Vol. 1, *A History of Dress to the End of the Eighteenth Century,* George Bell and Sons, London, 1885, p.193. See also p. 158 for discussion on the authenticity of this fabric in plays.

15 Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes,* Bloomsbury, London, 1981, p. 187.

16 See evidence of this in the quotation from 'The Little Device for the Coronation of Henry VII' reproduced in translation from Riggio, p. 10 in this chapter page 151.

17 See reference to this, p.158.

18 Bevington, '"Blake and Wyght, Fowll and Fayer"...', p.25.

at his birth. In this way, not only does the cloak represent that which has passed but also foreshadows the storyline of the play, with the tempting of Mind, Will and Understanding.

Upon her head, Anima wears both a wig and jewellery. The wig is "like to Wysdom['s]" and therefore must be golden, symbolizing her goodness and nobility. Perhaps this wig would have hung long and loose, emphasising her femininity.

There are a number of visual parallels to Anima's costume. The Virgin Mary is often portrayed in a simple white gown with a mantle over it, usually blue, and with long fair hair. Another parallel is more exact. Riggio states, without further details, that "according to 'The Little Device for the Coronation of Henry VII' ... the queen takes a penitential ride ... [and] for that ride she is to be

> arayed in a kirtel of white damaske cloth of gold furred with myniuer fur ... a mantell ... with a greit lase and ii botons and taxselles of white silke and gold".[19]

If Anima were dressed in this costume, as would befit the Queen of Heaven, it would account for her wearing the rather puzzling tassels and knots of gold which seem to symbolize nothing but add to the richness of costume required of Wisdom's consort.

After Anima's moral status is changed by the degradation of her Three Mights, she is described, after 902, as appearing "in þe most horrybull wyse, fowlere þan a fende". It is difficult to imagine what costume could be worn to render her hideous. It seems logical that, as the evil that surrounded her goodness (the mantle around the robe) was black, her evilness could be shown by her wearing black exclusively. This is further substantiated by Wisdom claiming that "contrycyon avoydyth þe deullys blake!" (979). Since seven small boys "rennyt owt from wndyr þe horrybull mantyll of þe Soull" (after 912), it seems probable that she would be wearing a full cut cloak that is perhaps pulled around to close at the front, as this would prevent the small devils from being seen before they escaped. For Anima to be seen as "fowler þan ony fende" (904), she

---

[19] Riggio, p.10.

would probably have added a mask. This would effectively obliterate all traces of the fair hair (either by covering or removing the wig) and any make-up that would have rendered Anima female, making it also easier to resume her pleasing countenance (by the simple removal of the mask) when she had asked forgiveness of Wisdom. Masks, according to M. D. Anderson, "were used to denote extremes of good and evil".[20] Meg Twycross and Sarah Carpenter qualify this by stating that "Devils are the only characters who seem always to wear masks", and quote many examples from the various accounts.[21] It seems that from the lack of specific details in Anima's description, the costumier or producer was given the freedom to portray her as he/ she wished. Twycross and Carpenter concur, claiming that "the medieval mask maker and costumier was presumably free to create as many freaks of nature as his imagination and his materials would allow".[22] Those authors have also surveyed medieval masks throughout Europe and summarized their findings. They conclude that the majority of demons were given horns, over-sized ears and occasionally a long red tongue. T. W. Craik has said that "an important characteristic is an ugly nose, large and misshapen" for devils.[23] Occasionally they also sported warts. As stated, however, it is impossible to ascertain what was in the imagination of the costumier, who could also have drawn inspiration from local artworks or sermons and other sources. Visual effects would, however, have been quite stunning as the evilness shown would have opposed the image of the innocent Anima so completely. The concept that sin changes a person totally could not be more clearly illustrated.

This idea also continues for Anima when she regains her moral character and her pre-fall costume. Anima, with others, is shown to have returned to a state of grace when she comes back on stage,

---

20 M.D. Anderson, *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1963, p.164.

21 Meg Twycross and Sarah Carpenter, 'Masks in Medieval English Theatre: The Mystery Plays' *Medieval English Theatre*, Vol. 3, pt. 2, 1981, p.71.

22 Twycross and Carpenter, Vol. 3, pt. 2, 1981, p.71-72.

23 T. W. Craik, *The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume and Acting*, Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1958, pp.51-2.

with others, in her original costume of white and black. She and the additional characters are now wearing crowns. These crowns represent the triumph of goodness over sin and, as such, are a very powerful visual image.

Anima, or the Soul, is the "spowse" of Wisdom, or Christ, the King of Heaven. She is clearly to be seen as a queen. While it would be entirely appropriate for her to be dressed in a simple white alb, or gown, indicating her purity and virtue, the author has chosen to costume this character in expensive, fur trimmed cloth. This choice may have been determined by the sumptuousness required of a pageant. Anima is obviously to be seen as a queen in majesty, rather than a simple Virtue character. Anima's costume is influenced by the plot and characterisation in the play and after the Mights cause her to fall from grace, is costumed to make her "horrybull", probably with a mask and perhaps influenced by a devil's costume. After her Mights repent, she resumes her original dress.

* * *

II. The Three Mights

The dress of both the Virtue and Vice characters is worn by the Three Mights as their moral position changes. It is not until the Mights exit (after 324) that they are described: "all thre in wyght cloth of golde, cheveleryde and crestyde in sute". It is likely that the robes of the Mights were full, as they are described as wearing "syde aray" (509). As in *Mankind*, this garment is associated with moral respectability. The Mights are addressed as "fonnyde fathers, founders of foly" (393), comments which indicate their religious affinity. In addition to this, Will being urged to leave "chastyte", Understanding to relinquish his "deuocyons" and Mind's affirmation of a "contemplatyff lyff", render it very possible that they are to be seen as religious and vested as such. Riggio agrees, commenting

that "the Mights seem to be cast as monks".[24] This accords with Johnston and Gibson who feel that this was a play to be performed in an Abbey to clergy. This view must be modified, however, to include some of the laity, as Lucifer speaks of one member of the audience having "wyffe, chylderne, and serwantys besy" (406).

As well as being symbolically and iconographically correct to have the Mights dressed in vestments it would also be cheap, as the robes could possibly have been borrowed from a wealthy church or, if it was performed at the Abbey, could simply have come from the vestry. Three white cloth-of-gold robes would not have been as readily available from a simple parish church as they could have been from an abbey.

Scene III indicates a costume change for the Mights. In the previous scene, Lucifer tempted the Mights to sin and, to signal their fall, their costumes were changed. These costumes, Riggio has commented, display the original attractiveness of sin (as opposed to Anima's which indicates its ugliness).[25] As it was as a gallant that Lucifer first attracted the Mights, it would be this that the Mights would copy. They are now "lyke to a fende of hell" (538), that is, dressed as gallants, as Lucifer is. They describe their garb as "new aray", "fresch", and "jolye" (510-66). Their garb is "curyous" (609), exquisite and therefore expensive, a fact which causes comment; they also profess an interest in "the gyse of Frawnce" (516). All of these indicate that their clothing is very fashionable.[26] As they were previously dressed in Anima's colours to show their alliance, now they are dressed in Lucifer's to emphasize their new moral standing, so possibly they are dressed extremely fashionably in black and red.

It is only after the Mights are brought by Wisdom to a realization of their sin and how they have altered Anima that they appreciate how they have "dysvyguryde [their] soule" (901). When they see their own disfigurement, "I se how I haue defowlyde þe noble kynde/ þat was lyke to þe by intellygens" (927-28), they seek

---

24 Riggio, p.6.

25 Riggio, p.11.

26 See *Mankind* chapter for a full discussion and commentary on fashion at this time.

forgiveness and return to God's love. This restored state is, as usual, indicated by a resumption of the previous garb. When they return, they are also wearing the same crowns of triumph over sin as Anima.

* * *

III. Virtues

a. Wisdom

The play begins with a lengthy description of the titular hero, Wisdom, and his entrance. The reader is left in no doubt as to his appearance. He wears a "ryche purpull clothe of golde wyth a mantyll of the same ermynnyde wythin, hawynge abowt hys neke a ryall hood furred wyth ermyn, wpon hys hede a cheweler wyth browys, a berde of golde of sypres curlyed, a ryche imperyall crown perwpon sett wyth precyus stonys and perlys, in hys leyfte honde a balle of golde wyth a cros perwppon and in hys ryght honde a regall schepter" (before 1). The purple worn by Wisdom is an immediate indication of both his power and his relationship to religion. Lurie has commented that "Purple originally was the most expensive color for cloth, since the dye for it came from a rare kind of shellfish. As a result, in many societies ... the hue was reserved for royalty".[27] Today, purple robes are still worn by high-ranking prelates of the Christian Church. Purple and gold, with scarlet and blue, are the colours of priests' garments, as cited twenty-six times in *Exodus*.[28] C. L. Daniels and C. M. Stevans relate that "purple is the colour of royalty, loyalty and things that are true in celestial origin". Violet, these authors maintain (presumably from art) has come to signify passion and suffering, love and truth as

---

[27] Lurie, p. 201.

[28] *Exodus* 25:4-39:29. In *Exodus* 25:4 God commands that Moses collect fabric (linen) of purple, blue, gold, and scarlet. In chapters 25-39 God outlines what he wants done with this linen.

"the Madonna wore it after the crucifixion and the Saviour after the resurrection".[29] Other authors, such as Janet Mayo and Fairholt, confirm that, due to its costliness, it was used for the nobility, both lay and clergy, yet there seems to be no clear indication of its exact cost at any time.[30] Morris Tilley has a quotation pertinent to purple. From 1596 comes the proverb "I will clothe it [like an ape in purple] that it may be admitted into the better company" (from Harington's *A New Discourse of a Stale Subject, called the Metamorphosis of Ajax,* p.9).[31] This proverb indicates that even the most low, such as an ape, can be accepted into the highest echelon of society through the nobility of purple. *The Middle English Dictionary* quotes the saying "born in the purple", which is figurative of being "born in the reigning family".[32]

The fabric Wisdom wears, being purple cloth-of-gold, adds strength to the symbolic message, as cloth-of-gold was correspondingly costly. There are a great number of references to this fabric (usually made of silk) in connection with the royal family. It is valuable enough to warrant being lined with equally costly fur, as Edward III and Queen Philippa did for the visit of Peter of Cyprus. Each had "'cloth-of-gold baldekyn of Lucca, partly lined with blanket, tied with narrow gold ribbons and trimmed with twenty-nine skins of ermine'- the most costly of the furs."[33] Newton gives the price of cloth-of-gold at between £3.6.8 and £4 per piece which is comparable to the finest velvet or Brussels longcloth. Unfortunately, as Newton has said, the exact length of the piece of fabric is not stated and subsequently the prices might be slightly

---

29 C.L. Daniels and C.M. Stevans, *Encyclopaedia of Superstitions, Folklore and the Occult Sciences of the World,* Vol III, Gale Research Co. Detroit, 1971, pp.1598-1601.

30 Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress,* B.T. Batsford, London, 1984, p.31. and F.W. Fairholt, *Costume in England,* Vol.II, (Glossary), p.339.

31 Morris P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of Proverbs in English in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1950, A266, p.15.

32 "Purpel", Vol. P-Pyvet, H. Kurath and S. Kuan (ed.), *The Middle English Dictionary,* University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1959.

33 From the Public Records Office, E101/394/16, mem. 17 in Mary Stella Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340-1365,* Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1980, p.62.

distorted.[34] From Bernard Garter's *The Ioyfvll Receyuing of the Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*, from 1578, which celebrates the visit of Elizabeth to Norwich, comes: "there was a stage made, very richly apparelled with cloth of Golde and crimson velvet...", seen here to be a fabric befitting the Queen.[35] Fairholt adds that in 1486 "Jakettes of clothe of golde white and grene" (the Tudor colours) were mentioned in the Wardrobe Accounts.[36] Purple cloth-of-gold is therefore the perfect choice for the costuming of Christ as the King of Heaven as it is both the colour and the fabric known to have been worn by the English king at the time of *Wisdom*'s writing.

While purple cloth-of-gold is most likely to have been worn by Wisdom, as the stage note suggests, it is not known whether this fabric would have been authentic or an imitation. Cloth-of-gold is mentioned in 1537 in the Cardmakers and Saddlers' Indentured Conveyance, however this fabric is obviously an imitation of the true cloth as "Item ij Auter Clothes Counterfett Cloth of Gold" is mentioned along with other assorted vestments.[37] The fact too that "ermyn" is described as "ryall" indicates that the "sumptuary laws of the 1480s [which] specifically limited both ermine and cloth-of-gold to members of the King's immediate family, his wife, children and siblings were perhaps anticipated in the 1460s, the time of *Wisdom*".[38] The ermine used by the players is unlikely to have been authentic. Ermine is listed in the English Great Wardrobe Accounts of 1350-1 as being the most expensive fur, followed by trimmed miniver, and it is unlikely that unsponsored players could have afforded this to dress a character.[39] In the King's College Inventory of 1505-6 there is listed "a gowne of skarlett with a whode for the

---

34 Newton has taken these figures from the *English Great Wardrobe Accounts Relevant to the Making of Special Garments and the Costs and Lengths of Stuff in General Use* which I was unable to see and so must rely on her figures. Newton, p.138.

35 David Galloway, *Norwich*, R.E.E.D, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1984, p.276.

36 F.W. Fairholt, *Costume in England*, Vol. 1, p.193.

37 R.W. Ingram (ed), *Coventry*, R.E.E.D, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1981, p.487.

38 Riggio, p.9.

39 English Great Wardrobe Accounts Relevant to the Making of Special Garments and the Costs and Lengths of Stuffs in General Use, Public Records Office 800E101/392/3 (1350-1) in Newton, p.137.

same furred with white menyvere for the Crosyer".[40] There does not appear to be any direct reference to ermine, implying that it was either too costly for dramatic spectacle, or, as stated, was not to be worn due to sumptuary law restrictions (or perhaps the records have been destroyed or lost). McMurray Gibson and others have argued that *Wisdom* may have been played at the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds which enjoyed royal patronage.[41] It is therefore also possible, although perhaps not likely, that, if this play were written for presentation to the visiting monarch, these items of dress may have been borrowed for the occasion from the king himself. It is known that this happened later, since in Coventry, in 1573, a gown is listed as being habitually borrowed from Sir William Wigston by the Smith's guild for King Herod; borrowing royal robes, however, is unlikely.[42]

Wisdom wears "Wpon hys hede a cheweler wyth browys, [and] a berde of golde of sypres curlyed". The practice of costuming a Christ-character in a golden wig was popular. It is known that in 1490 in Coventry, not only Jesus but Peter wore gold wigs: "Item ij Cheverels gyld for Jhe and Petur".[43] Twycross and Carpenter believe that a "cheverel gyld ... seems to have been an alternative [way, rather than gilding the face] of showing divinity".[44] A question has also arisen concerning the nature of the "berde" mentioned. Were the beard and the brows a piece of hair either tied (or glued over the actor's face) or were they joined together with the wig and fitting over the head like a mask? The stage direction seems to be linking the wig and brows together with the beard. An additional hypothesis could be a combined hair piece that joins the wig, beard and brows, much like the modern Santa Claus beard.[45] The use of the word "wyth" seems to indicate that at least the

---

40 Allan H. Nelson (ed.), *Cambridge*, R.E.E.D., University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1989, p.80.

41 See chapter 1 of this thesis.

42 *Coventry* , p.265.

43 *Coventry*, p.74.

44 Twycross and Carpenter, Vol 4, 1982, p.101.

45 Twycross and Carpenter show a detail from Brueghel's '"Flemish Proverbs"; the Hypocrite makes God a Beard of Flax' which shows Jesus actually being fitted with a stage beard of flax over his natural brown one. The stage beard has been tied up to the top of his head, where presumably, a wig will be fitted to hide the join.

brows and wig are joined. Given the amount of detail in the stage directions, it is unlikely that the author would have neglected to specify if masks were to be worn.[46] Whatever the nature of the connections between the different pieces of hair, Twycross and Carpenter have found that a "berde of golde of sypres curlyed" is either gold cloth from Cyprus or a "light transparent material resembling cobweb lawn or crepe".[47] They conclude that since it was so fine, it could be cut then curled to form ringlets, the end effect being much like that of paper-sculpture curls. The total effect of the hair would probably have added to the regal appearance of Wisdom, since with the amount of hair affixed, facial movement would probably have been limited to simple mouth expressions. The very stylized curls of the beard would also probably impart the image of stateliness.

The audience would receive further confirmation that Wisdom is meant to be a king as he is wearing an imperial crown adorned with precious stones and pearls and holds in his left hand a golden orb and in his right a sceptre. Riggio has reproduced a portrait that she feels relate to this stage direction. It is a portrait of Christ as Eternal Wisdom from Henrich Suso whose writing she and Eccles credit as a major source of *Wisdom* (Fig. 27). This portrait shows Christ dressed similarly to the stage direction. This orb and sceptre are further indication of the pageantry and stateliness of this play. As well as this, Bevington has argued that *Wisdom* relies heavily on symmetry for its visual impact. As an example of this, Bevington states that the cross "distinguishes left from right and ascent from descent", this being of central importance to the morality plays, since these are the moral positions that people may deviate between in their lifetime.[48] Contrast is the theme of David Bevington's article in *The Wisdom Symposium.* He maintains that contrasts extend particularly to the costuming in this play. This

---

46 At the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Henry VIII and his fellow maskers wore "visers, and all the berdes were fine wyer of Ducket's gold". Edward Hall, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Families of Lancastre and Yorke...*, London, 1548, 14 Hen. VIII, fol. lxxxxib. See Twycross and Carpenter, p.39, for further descriptions and costings of other types of beards.

47 Twycross and Carpenter, Vol. 3, 1981, p.39.

48 Bevington, '"Blake and Wyght, Fowll and Fayer"...', p.23.

theory will be explored further as additional characters are considered.

From the text where Wisdom describes himself as Christ, it is an easy theological step to view Wisdom as Christ the ruler of Heaven and it is obviously as this that he is portrayed. Molloy, in his theological interpretation of *Wisdom*, comments that from his costume, Wisdom/ Christ proves Himself to be "the Creator, Redeemer and Ruler of the World". He extends this idea theologically to comment that, based on the fact that God came first, gave The Word and The Word became The Son, Wisdom is, in fact, an amalgamation of all three of the Trinity. He links this back to the costuming of Wisdom and particularly to Wisdom's personal props which, he states, are also indicative of the Trinity. While it may be easily seen that the cross-surmounted orb and other regal paraphernalia indicate Christ as the King of Kings, it is more difficult to find any indications of the other two (particularly The Word) and unfortunately Molloy does not elaborate.[49] Molloy's interpretation does, however, fit into the text fully, even though he places too great an emphasis on *Wisdom*'s costume to describe a difficult theological idea.

While religious practice and dogma may change, Christ, on whom the whole Christian religion is based, should be seen as one character whose representation should be untouched by contemporary social influences. Though God and His son may be immutable, Wisdom's costume is not.

It would not be logical to costume Wisdom in clerical vestments, as he will stand judgement upon the actions of the Mights, much as a medieval king might have done, and it is therefore more appropriate that he is dressed as a king. While this is the role that a bishop or pope may have played, Wisdom is shown with his "spowse" Anima. As there is no indication that Anima is merely one of the Brides of Christ or nuns, as would be expected if Wisdom

---

[49] Molloy, p.1. Sister Mary Francis Smith has written about the symbolism of the crown with precious stones (in *Wisdom and the personification of Wisdom in Middle English Literature before 1500* ; doctoral dissertation; Catholic University, Washington, D.C. 1935) but unfortunately I was unable to see this work which Molloy mentions but does not quote.

were wearing clerical vestments, a monogamous relationship that does not appear in the New Testament is implied. It is therefore more likely that Wisdom is dressed in majestic secular costume as this situation is more appropriate to a Christ not dressed in vestments.

It may be seen, therefore, that Wisdom, or Christ, is being dramatised in a more secular way, with his costume altering to suit. It is well known that Bale wrote *King John* as a propaganda piece for his king. It may be possible that Wisdom was also shown in regal majesty to flatter the king, who, as we know from McMurray Gibson's research, visited *Wisdom's* possible place of composition and performance.

* * *

b. Anima's Five Wits

Anima and the Mights have retainers who appear at points in the play when a moral position is to be emphasized. For this reason, the Mights' retainers only appear when the Mights are in a highly immoral position, while Anima's retainers, the Five Wits, or wise virgins, appear when Anima is in a renewed state of grace. These five virgins wear "white kertyllys and mantelys, wyth cheuelers and chappelettys and synge 'Nigra sum sed formosa, filia Jerusalem, sicut tabernacula cedar et sicut pelles Salamonis'" (after 164).[50] They belong to Anima and this is shown by their costume, as both Anima (and the Mights) and her Wits wear white gowns. They do not seem to be wearing cloth-of-gold but this is appropriate as they are merely followers of Anima and not royalty, unlike Anima (and her attributes, the Mights) who is the "spowse" of the King of Heaven. These gowns are therefore probably similar to albs, being long, white, undecorated and full. The main costume

50 This may be translated as: I am black but beautiful [within], daughter[s] of Jerusalem, just like a cedar tabernacle and just like the curtains of Solomon.

difference between Anima and her Wits is that their mantles are probably white, rather than black as Anima's is. This is appropriate also as they only appear when Anima is in a morally acceptable position.

Like Anima, the five Wits wear wigs. These wigs are probably similar to Anima's in regard to colour and length. As the Wits are also in a state of grace, they deserve to wear the gold wigs, like Wisdom, Anima and the three Mights (pre-fall and after their return to grace). Over the wigs, the Wits wear "chappelettys". These headdresses are probably basic circles of metal, simplified versions of Anima's more elaborately tasselled and buttoned headdress.

While the Wits probably are not wearing black mantles, they may show some physical indication of humanity's sin. The Wits sing that Anima is black but beautiful, "'Nigra sum sed formosa'", indicating, probably her black mantle. Anima describes the blackness as coming from "þis dyrke schadow I bere of humanyte" (166) and draws a parallel between herself and a tabernacle of cedar, black on the outside and fair within. It is possible that the Wits are wearing masks but it is unlikely that these would be black. While black masks are particularly common in the Coventry accounts (from 1538 onwards), these references are to "blakke soulys".[51] These black souls were minor devils and Twycross and Carpenter have commented that blacking was often the disguise for these "minor English devils".[52] The Wits are not devils or Vice characters and it is, therefore, unlikely that this practice would have applied to them. Molloy believes that the Wits are also wearing gold wigs and capes in order to denote the relationship between Anima and the senses.[53] This, along with their accompanying of Anima and the general compatibility, would indicate to the audience that they are women belonging to Anima. These costumes accord well with the theological interpretation of this play. Molloy relates that the Five Wise Virgins who appear in *Matthew* 15 refer to the five senses

---

51 Ingram (ed.), *Coventry*, R.E.E.D., pp.230, 241-3, 464-5, 464-5, 467, 469, 472, 474.

52 Twycross and Carpenter, p.71.

53 Molloy, p.30.

who, as stated, are "clene", and therefore "those not in the state of grace are not white, they have succumbed to the stirrings of sin; they are willingly blackened".[54]

* * *

IV. Vices

a. Lucifer

Lucifer enters (after 324) "in a dewyllys aray wythowt and wythin as a prowde galonte..." and then later, after 380, completes his disguise, coming "in ageyn as a goodly galont". With Lucifer's first appearance it is necessary to consider how a devil's costume could be worn over that of a gallant. In the 1986 production of *Wisdom*, with Riggio as producer and director, Lucifer was dressed in black satin robes with large dangling bat-like claws.[55] These robes would be effective since, from a practical viewpoint, they could be pulled aside, revealing glimpses firstly of the gallant's costume, and later removed totally to display the gallant. This would be an important consideration as the stage note (380) gives no time between the disappearance and re-appearance of Lucifer, this time as the gallant. The Riggio production also used bestial imagery, with the bat-like claws related to the horns and snouts mentioned in connection with Anima's costume. The dressing of Lucifer in black is also probably warranted by Anima's foreshadowing of evil through her black mantle. The Riggio production is perhaps accurate in its reproduction of medieval practice, as it has a mixture of symbolism (Anima's and Lucifer's mantles) and traditional devils' costumes. As discussed previously in the section dealing with the costuming of Anima, the use of a mask would be beneficial since it would add additional horror to Lucifer's face while covering up the

---

[54] Molloy, p.32.
[55] Riggio, p.10.

face of the gallant. It would therefore be possible for Lucifer to exit the stage and quickly return, as it should only take moments to remove a mask and a cloak.

The disguising of Lucifer in order to commit evil is a common stage convention, as he is known to be two-faced. In order for him to do this, he is dressed as a gallant. Lucifer's gallant's costume would be as fashionable as possible. At the time of *Wisdom*, fashion began to change with long full robes, as associated with clerical vestments, becoming shorter and less full. Sumptuary laws were passed in 1463 (approximately at the time of *Wisdom*), which attempted to establish a dress code that would abolish what was considered obscenely short dress.[56] It would therefore be fitting that Lucifer's gallant should be dressed in something that is both fashionable and obscene. Wisdom, in his full and flowing garments representing the Virtues, is therefore in full opposition to Lucifer in his short and revealing Vice costume.

Lucifer's costume, particularly when he is dressed in highly fashionable clothing as a gallant, would then show a close relationship with non-clerical society. Masculine fashion, as worn by the gallant at the time of *Wisdom*, was rather immodest with the brevity of the tunic and the tightness of the hose. This character was a common literary and visual art figure, featuring, for example, in the *Ship of Fools* and Peter Idley's *Instructions to his Son,* where the gallant and his costume represent foolishness and a lack of concern for traditional values.

* * *

56 Riggio, p.11.

b. The Mights' Dancers

As the Mights were dressed first like Anima and then Lucifer, so are the Mights' dancers dressed like the Mights. This dressing like their leader is emphasized particularly with the words, "Here entur six dysgysyde in þe sute of Mynde" (692), and "Here entreth six women in sut, thre dysgysyde as galontys and thre as matrones" (after 752). "In þe sute of" or "in sut" implies that they are dressed either like their Might, or in clothes that represent him, and are thus a type of livery. Dressing in rich array, acting without dialogue and dancing create a highly stylised visual image which probably contributed greatly to the pageant quality of *Wisdom.*[57]

Dancing was often seen as immoral, particularly at the time of *Wisdom.* As early as 1216, Thomas of Chobham protested that "It is known that until now there has been þat perverse custom in many places, where on any holy feast day, wanton women and foolish youths gather together... [and] lead their ring dances and practice many other shameful games. All such activity is to be prohibited with the greatest diligence possible".[58] Despite Thomas of Chobham's claim that this practice should now cease, Chaucer relates, in his *Hous of Fame,* how "shrews" or knaves who "han delyt in wikkednesse" leap and prance, turning somersaults:

> Tho [then] com ther leapinge in a route
> And gon choppen al aboute
> Every man upon the croune,
> That al the halle gan to soun.[59]

While these references are all before *Wisdom*, it is known that the practice of having dancers representing immoral behaviour continued at least until 1583, when Phillip Stubbes in his *Anatomie of Abuses* attacked exuberant practices of the young on holy days.

---

57 See chapter 1 for a full discussion of spectacles, pageants and processions.

58 F. Bromfield (ed.), *Series Analecta Mediaevealia Namurcensia*, No 25, Paris, 1963, p.262.

59 Larry D. Benson (ed.),*The Riverside Chaucer,* 3rd edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1987, *Hous of Fame,* Book III (733-6).

The followers of the Lord of Misrule were all dressed in livery "of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour".[60]

There are many references to dancers over a wide period, with six being the common number of dancers.[61] There are even references to wanton women, like those in Will's party.

With each of the three Mights are six dancers. Mind has six male dancers: "Here entur six dysgysyde in þe sute of Mynde, wyth rede berdys, and lyouns rampaunt on here crestys, and yche a warder in hys honde; her mynstrallys, trumpes" (after 692). The names of these six dancers are Disdain, Stubbornness, Misfortune, Rash Anger, Vengeance and Discord. Mind renames himself "Maytennance" or Unjust Support. These make up seven characters, reminiscent of the Seven Deadly Sins. These six men are in "sute" or livery similar to Mind's costume. The colour is not described but their crests are. These crests have lions rampant upon them and Smart correlates this with the badges of the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, who used such a device on their heraldry, but since there is no sign of these nobles being involved in these plays, the evidence seems to indicate that the author saw a lion as perhaps a symbol of pride.[62] The trumpets, W. A. Davenport argues, represent both battle and judgement.[63] This is quite a common symbol, appearing in *Jeremiah* 6:1 where the children of Benjamin are warned that the priests, who have become corrupt, are to be destroyed. A trumpet, in Tekoa, is blown as a sign of the "evil appear[ing] out of the north, and great destruction", heralding the battle and the deaths to come. A similar use of this symbol appears in Dante's *Inferno 1*.

In reference to the dancers' red beards, Molloy, without mentioning specific plays, compares these red beards to that worn by Judas in the Cycle Plays.[64] It is possible that beards, being unfashionable at

---

60 Arthur Freeman (ed.), Phillip Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, 'The Order of the Lord of Misrule', Vol. 1 of 2 Volumes, Garland Publishing, New York, 1973, sig. 6B.

61 For further information about dancing, see Sandra Billington, 'Routs and Reyes', *Folklore*, Vol.89, no. 2, 1978, pp.184-200.

62 W.K. Smart, '*Mankind* and the Mumming Plays', *Modern Language Notes* Vol.32, 1917 pp.88-89.

63 W. A. Davenport, 'Lusty Freshe Galaunts', P. Neuss (ed.), *Aspects of Early English Drama*, Brewer, Cambridge, 1983, p.120.

64 Molloy, p.115.

the time, indicate a return to an earlier age, likened perhaps to a time of barbarity, before there was Christian order.[65] While Wisdom's long fair beard indicates imperial majesty and grace, a red beard may indicate wildness and interestingly, Tudor and Stuart representations of Celts often emphasise the wild red beards of the men. The dancers carry staffs and are accompanied by "mynstrallys". These minstrels probably also wore livery.

Six male dancers also accompany Understanding: "Here entrethe six jorours in a sute, gownyde, wyth hodys abowt her nekys, hattys of meytenance perrpon, vyseryde dyuersly; here mynstrell, a bagpype" (after 724). Understanding renames himself "Perjury". These characters appear to be jurors, perhaps wearing hoods on which were painted two faces, representing duplicity. The "vyseryde dyuersly" probably refers to Understanding's dancers wearing masks. Twycross and Carpenter have noted that it was a common practice to dress characters in two-faced masks to indicate their duplicity.[66] This would be particularly relevant for Understanding's dancers as their sin is taking bribes from the guilty in court. Davenport quotes the symbolism and also refers to the pun on *bag* pipe - "the receptacle for the bribe to go in".[67] Understanding wears badges to indicate his vice (avarice). In *Psychomachia,* Perjury is one of the ten followers of Avarice.[68]

These six dancers of Understanding are also in "sute" but with hooded gowns thrown over the top. These would probably be somewhat similar to graduation gowns, worn as the everyday gown of the learned man, be he academic, medical practitioner, or "jorour", as seen in many paintings of notables during the later Middle Ages. There is no indication of the exact nature of the "hattys of meyntenance". This hat is noted in history, however. The commons protested in 1377 against "the giving of hats by way of

---

65 Doreen Yarwood in *The Encyclopedia of World Costume*, Bonanza Books, New York, 1978, p.32 states that "The later fourteenth, the fifteenth and the earlier sixteenth centuries were years when most men of rank and position were clean-shaven".

66 Twycross and Carpenter, Vol. 3, 1981, pp. 32 and 76.

67 Davenport, *Fifteenth Century English Drama,* p.88.

68 Line 464. S. Georgia Nugent, *Allegory and Poetics: The Structure and Imagery of Prudentius' Psychomachia*, Peter Lang, New York, 1985.

livery for maintenance".[69] (Understanding's minstrels and piper would probably also be wearing livery.) In 1346, maintenance is mentioned being practised by the higher classes, prelates, earls, barons, the great and small of the land where "all alike are forbidden to take in hand or maintain openly or privately, for gift, promise, amity, favour, doubt or fear, any other quarrels than their own".[70] There are many examples of this in both *The Paston Letters* (see chapter 1) and in Stubbs' *Constitutional History of England.*[71] From Royal manuscript 18B XXIII, fol. 113b comes a reference to "this false queste-mongeres... [who] for a litill money, or els for a good dyner, will save a theffe, and dampe a trewe man...".[72] Similar stories are also told in Harleian manuscript 45: "...the jorroures also, that beth swore to trye whether their be theives or trewe man, and falsliche and witynglíche acquyteth hem...".[73]

It appears then, that the issue of maintenance and the corruption of the legal system that it represented was, like the dancing itself, a very topical issue.

Will, unlike Understanding and Mind, is accompanied by six women dancers. When Will's vice of lechery is remembered, the reason for the different sex for his dancers becomes more obvious. "Here entreth six women in sut, thre dysgysyde as galontys and thre as matrones, wyth wondyrfull vysurs congruent; here mynstrell, a hornepype" (after 752). Eccles argues that "The hornpipe with its mouthpiece of horn is very appropriate to this lecherous crew as it brings to mind images of the horns of cuckolds."[74] However, this may seen to be creating symbolism from slim evidence. The dancers are dressed similarly or at least in the same colour. A gallant is

---

69 *Rotuli Parl,* iii, 23 in Eccles, p.212.

70 William Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, Vol.3, William S. Hein and Co. Inc., New York, 1987, p.550 ff.

71 Stubbs, pp.550 ff. Stubbs argues that "A long list of statutes in which the evil practice [maintenance] is condemned shows how strong it had become... the climax [was] reached when Alice Perrers, the King's mistress, [took] her seat in the law courts and urge[d] the quarrels of her clients", p.550.

72 Ms Royal, 18B XXIII fol. 113b, British Library, is quoted in G. R. Owst, *Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England*, 2nd ed., Barnes and Noble, New York, 1961, p.343.

73 Ms Harley 45, fols 65-6, British Library, quoted in Owst, p. 343.

74 Eccles p.212.

paired up with a matron. The gallants are named Recklessness, Idleness, and Surfeit while the matrons are Spouse-Breach, Mistress and Fornication. Davenport details the appearance of gallants in plays and finds that their costumes are very similar.[75] Each of the new "galaunts" wears new and fashionable clothing. As noted earlier, it was at this time that there was a general outcry against men's costume which displayed men's buttocks. If this outrage was so great, perhaps the current fashion was sufficiently immoral to be worn to indicate Vice characters. This occurred with fashionable female dress where the headdress was the steeple or the horned headdress which, in its resemblance to the horns of animals, was considered demonic by its critics.[76]

* * *

c. Shrewd Boy

One of the more minor characters in this play is the Shrewd Boy. Lucifer has just completed his description of how he will change a clean soul into a damned one. To illustrate this, he plucks a boy from the audience and carries him off. Because the boy is taken from the audience he would be dressed like one of the audience. It is most likely that he has been planted there by the acting company as he is described as a "schrewde" or wicked boy, so perhaps he has been pretending to misbehave in the audience. He also must be able to cry on cue, as this is requested in the text. Lucifer takes this boy away with him, "Her he takyt a schrewde boy wyth hym and goth hys wey cryenge" (after 550), and we do not hear what Lucifer has made of him. The exact costume of the boy would therefore depend on the social composition of the audience. If they were well-to-do then the boy would probably have to be dressed in this

---

[75] Davenport,'Lusty Freshe Galaunts', pp.111-128.
[76] See chapter 1, p.26.

fashion also. It is also possible that the boy might be wearing simple home-spun, as Mankind in *Mankind* does before his fall.

* * *

d. The Seven Small Devils

The final characters to be considered are the seven small devils. These seven devils, who run from beneath Anima's mantle, are probably wearing black as they are in the service of Lucifer and would probably be wearing his livery colour, black. Probably these devils would have the black painted faces that Twycross and Carpenter mentioned as being a characteristic of minor devils.

* * *

The care taken by the playwright in describing the different costumes indicates their importance in the play. *Wisdom* is a very clever play in that it is a meshing of traditional costuming practice, fanciful costume and contemporary, fashionable and royal costuming. Most of the costumes in *Wisdom* also have a theological iconographic message but, while it is tempting to theorise that this iconography would perhaps indicate that the audience would have had to have been educated enough to understand and read the great religious writers, it is more practical to argue that all people would be familiar with the theology through sermons. *Wisdom*, in combining the different costuming influences, creates a play that is extremely rich iconographically and is able to be read for meaning at many different levels. This play is not merely entertainment but a moral story synthesized and presented to form a very palatable lesson. The entertainment aspects of the play are

in the form of costume, both traditional and highly symbolic. Yet these traditional practices are not the only influences that may be seen in *Wisdom*. Social commentary concerning various topical subjects is also quite prominent, particularly with the Vice characters, such as the gallant figure and the dancers. Dancing, as the brief survey of references above indicates, was still decried by members of the populace, yet was still popular, especially with the wild young. The dancers themselves, two of whom represent abuses of the judicial system, are obviously presenting these corrupt practices in order that particular problems may be highlighted. Perhaps if the king were a member of the *Wisdom* audience, the play may have made him aware of the people's concerns about the legal system. In sum, while it cannot be denied that there is a wealth of iconographic symbolism in *Wisdom*, social commentary is also a prominent feature.

CONCLUSION

The argument of this work has been that in the period from early 1400 to 1465 the Macro plays show that, while costumes based on traditional iconography were still being used, certain contemporary social occurrences were having an impact upon the costumes. I supported this argument by considering each play and then each character within it, determining what the text said about the costume/ character. Where the text had no, or not enough, detail, I considered what evidence there was for this character (or character-type) in other, contemporary plays. When the human character was studied, contemporary fashion and what the critics of the time said about it were discussed. I also considered the costumes of the Macro plays in the light of Veblen's theories of status and social change. Various interpretations of clothing were discussed and analysed, as well as such items as colour symbolism and decoration, including, for example, dagging and the use of spots to indicate lechery.

In a comparison of the texts, a number of factors become evident. The human characters are always initially virtuous and this is indicated by their costume. In *The Castle of Perseverance,* Humanum Genus is newly born, "nakyd" (285), wearing perhaps only a shift or a loin cloth and a crisom. He represents innocence and original sin. In *Mankind*, Mankind is dressed in the modest side-gown of the farmer and carries a spade. These represent Adam's toil after he had been sent from paradise. In *Wisdom,* Anima and the Three Mights are with Wisdom, or Christ, in Heaven. Their vestments are rich and glorious and rely on colour symbolism to indicate their high moral status. It is likely that these differences between the richness of all of the characters' costumes in *Wisdom* and the richness of the costumes of only some of the characters in *Mankind* and *The Castle of Perseverance* are due to the relative social status of their possible audiences. One can argue that *The Castle of Perseverance* (with the relationship between Humanum Genus' and Christ's costumes) and *Mankind* (with the relationship between Mankind's and Adam's costumes) are taking their costume references more closely from both testaments of *The Bible* itself,

whereas *Wisdom* is based on a more philosophical allegory of God's love.

After becoming sinful, Humanum Genus, Mankind and the Three Mights transform themselves into fashionable young men, while Anima is transformed "in þe most horrybull wyse" (904). These fashionable young men, or gallants, have abandoned their rightful places, those places into which God has chosen that they be born. Their primary sin, therefore, was to disobey God's chosen social position for them and their costumes indicate their adopted social status. Humanum Genus chooses to become a servant of the World, wearing the livery of his lord and the height of 1400s fashion. Mankind moves from honest labour in the fields to a life of idleness with the N-Vices. His modest gown is gradually transformed to a fashionable jacket, far from modest, reaching only to his hip. The Three Mights also change profession and costume, along with their morality. Each of them becomes a gallant, turning from their rightful occupation as clerics to God. Mind renames himself Mayntennance, or Unjust Support, and is supported by his six red-bearded warriors, Understanding becomes Perjury and is accompanied by his six corrupt jurors and Perjury also indicates that his vice is avarice. Will indicates through his six dancers, three gallants and three matrons, that he will be occupied with lechery.

It may clearly be seen, therefore, that the rejection of God's will, by either leaving or changing the social status and occupation that God intended, is sinful, and this rebellion is manifested through the various kinds of social disorder including extravagant and inappropriate costume. During the period from the late fourteenth to mid-fifteenth century, the main social shifts occurred in the area of occupational change. As mentioned in chapter 1, this period was a time of great lawlessness, where might was right and corruption was rampant. There was also great social upheaval after the Black Death with the lingering end of the feudal system and the emphasis on individual autonomy made possible by the release of many from serfdom. The rise of the merchant class and the increasing possibilities in trade encouraged a different kind of

subjectivity, placing the consideration of the self over that of the group. Upward social mobility became obtainable. These class changes are inherent in the Macro plays, with Humanum Genus changing from having "Bare and pore ... clothynge" (293), to becoming a man of the great king, World. Mankind progresses from being a labourer to a fashionable fribble and the Three Mights leave the clergy for very worldly occupations.

When Humanum Genus, Mankind, Anima and the Mights resume their high moral status, they resume their original costuming style, Humanum Genus, perhaps in an old shift, Mankind in more modest dress and Anima and the Mights, as they began, but with crowns, to indicate their victory over sin.

There are many more Virtue characters in *The Castle of Perseverance* than either *Mankind* or *Wisdom*. The Virtue characters in *The Castle of Perseverance* include the Good Angel, the Seven Virtues, Confession, Penance and the Four Daughters of God, and are, of course, headed by God. There is no actual costuming evidence for the majority of these characters in the play, with the exception of the Four Daughters. God's and the Angel's costumes have to be surmised from local artworks and, in the case of the angel, from records indicating that, in Coventry at least, angels wore albs and yellow silk wigs. The only evidence relating to the Seven Virtues in the text is that some, at least, had weapons of a kind: for example, Chastity must carry a jug of water, as she causes Lechery to be "drenchyd" (2388). It is likely the Virtues, as "seuene systerys swete" (2047), are dressed alike and, iconographically, it would be logical for them to be wearing long, loose, white gowns, as Hall's chronicle recorded they did in 1522[1]. Confession is a holy man and it is possible that he is, therefore, dressed as a priest. Penitence carries a spear to prick the conscience but this is all of the textual evidence given. It may be surmised that he is wearing sack-cloth and ashes, the traditional costume of the penitent. The costumes for the Four Daughters of God comply with the traditional requirements that they be long and

[1]Edward Hall, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Families of Lancastre and Yorke* .... London, 1548, 14 Hen. VIII, lxxxxiia.

of full cut but the author of *The Castle of Perseverance* specifies their colour which symbolizes their roles as Justice, Truth, Mercy and Peace. The author possibly does this as the Four Daughters are not common characters, and also, perhaps, to differentiate them from the Virtues.

Mercy also appears in *Mankind* and is, in fact, the only Virtue character in this play which relies so heavily for entertainment value on the characters of the Vices. Mercy, unlike Mercy in *The Castle of Perseverance*, is a male character and may, perhaps, be equated more with the character Confession in *The Castle of Perseverance* than the Daughter of God. Like Confession, Mercy probably is wearing clerical vestments, as suggested by his being called a "worschyppull clerke" (129). In *Wisdom*, the Five Wits may be seen to be dressed similarly to the Seven Virtues of *The Castle of Perseverance*. They wear the standard white. The only other character in *Wisdom* is Wisdom himself, or Christ, who traditionally may be shown either in clerical vestments, or as king of Heaven, in robes and crown. The author of *Wisdom*, perhaps bearing in mind that Anima has been named Wisdom's spouse, has specified that Wisdom is to be dressed as a king, holding the symbols of his power, the orb and sceptre.

There seems to be very little actual textual evidence of the costuming of the Virtue characters. What little evidence there is appears to be confined to the purpose of differentiation; the Daughters are differentiated from the Seven Virtues and Wisdom's (Christ's) costume is chosen from his two traditionally iconographic aspects. Virtue characters' costumes, therefore, seem to rely almost totally upon traditional iconographic costuming, with the exception of the colour symbolism of the Daughters of God. There appears to be little or no costuming practice change for the Virtues brought about by social upheaval.

There are many Vices in all three of the Macro plays. In *The Castle of Perseverance*, World, Flesh and the Devil are dressed in "ryche aray" (274), as "kyngys thre" (267). The Devil, or Belial, called "Syr Belyal" (928), is probably dressed in black to suit his status as

lord of Hell. His "chyldyr þre" (956), Envy, Wrath and Pride, also in "good aray" (942), are perhaps in Belial's colours too. Pride carries his father's banner while Envy and Wrath have bows and stones. Wrath may carry a lit faggot as indicated by his threat to "brenne" (2115) Patience with "wyld fere" (2115). Malus Angelus is also a follower of Belial and it is likely that he has the wings of a dragon, as his lord is "in draf as a drake" (197). Gluttony, immensely fat and perhaps, as his name implies, always eating, is also, like Wrath, carrying a faggot, perhaps to indicate the lust that is also a type of gluttony. It is possible that Lechery, too, carries flame, as it is she who is "drenchyd" (2388) by Chastity's water. Lechery, who may be seen as a parallel figure to Mary Magdalene before her conversion, may be wearing a fashionable headdress and gown, especially featuring the new, tight bodice.

Covetousness wears "ryche aray" (831), as do Folly and Lust-liking. Folly perhaps carries a hook for Anima to hang on in Hell. Sloth has a spade, to dam up the "watyr of grace" (2329). Backbiter carries a box, full of "letterys of defamacyoun" (671). He may be wearing a two-faced mask. Belial, too, probably wears a mask, if only to protect himself from the blasts of the gunpowder in the pipes in his ears. Death is probably shown as a skeleton and the Soul (or Anima) in a black robe, perhaps with a blackened face. Garcio is representative of the contemporary state of lawlessness at the time of *The Castle of Perseverance.* Rightful inheritance was no guarantee of possession and it is the role of Garcio to be the new, albeit undeserving, owner of Humanum Genus' property. This is through the whim of the World, a situation which paralleled the current state of affairs, according to certain of the Paston Letters, in the late fourteenth and mid-fifteenth century. The power and wealth of the three Vices, World, Flesh and Belial, and the weapons of their followers highlight the corruption of the authors' society. The costumes of these characters, "robys rounde" (2072) and "Grete gounse" (2073), are the uniforms of the corrupt.

Titivillus, from *Mankind,* while not such a major devil as Belial, is well known in East Anglia. Titivillus, like Belial, has a mask and wears also, perhaps, a leather body suit. He carries a net to put

over Mankind's face and confuse his ideas. The other Vices in *Mankind* are Mischief and the N-Vices: Nought, Nowadays and New Guise. These characters would wear what was most up-to-date and with the N-Vices, the author of *Mankind* is clearly associating newness and change, and the appearance of these, fashion, with evil in the world. Mischief may be wearing a variety of costumes, ranging from fashionable attire to a fool's costume and to that of a devil.
In *Wisdom*, the chief Vice is Lucifer and the *Wisdom* author clearly specifies his costume as being "dewyllys aray wythowt and wythin as a prowde galonte" (after 324). The indication here is that a gallant is evil inside, another indication that newness, the changeability of fashion and dissatisfaction with traditional social structure, are against the ordering of God.

The Mights' dancers highlight particular, contemporary, social sins through their costume. Lucifer has seven small devils, which run out from under Anima's robe. These devils are most likely clothed in the same colour as Lucifer. As they are his servants, they are probably wearing his livery. The final Vice role in *Wisdom* is that of the Shrewd Boy, and like his parallel in *The Castle of Perseverance*, he probably wears a costume that would allow him to go unremarked amongst the audience.

The costumes of the Vices, which in a majority of cases are not specified, are described in the main as "ryche aray" (274). Often too, while the costumes themselves are not described, the character's name indicates what should be worn, such as with Nought, New Guise and Nowadays, where the only appropriate costume would be that which was highly fashionable. The wealth and the power of the Vice characters also indicate the author's attitudes to those in East Anglia with similar attributes.

In conclusion, it may be seen that the authors of the three Macro plays were very conservative and mistrusting of change, both in society and the individual. This is indicated through the costuming in the plays, where the Virtue characters wear traditional, iconographically-correct garb, usually long and full, and often

white, or clerical vestments. Vice characters are rich and powerful and generally wear fashionable clothing. Corrupt power equates with fashion and the rejection of traditional values, such as modesty. The characters who most clearly indicate the authors' conservatism are the human characters, Humanum Genus, Mankind, Anima and her Three Mights. These characters reject God and His plans for them and seek a new social status, the physical manifestation of this being their dress, which echoes that of the Vices in its fashion. It is not until the human characters repent and change back to their original costumes (and therefore accept God's plans) that they are forgiven. It may be stated, therefore, that changes in the social hierarchy which allowed social mobility and produced a growing awareness of individual autonomy and subjectivity, did have an impact upon the costuming of the Macro plays.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Joseph Quincy, ed. *Chief Pre-Shakespeakean Dramas.* Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1924.

Alexander, Michael and Felicity Riddy, ed. *Macmillan Anthologies of English Literature. Vol 1: The Middle Ages.* London: Macmillan, 1989.

Anderson, M. D. *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.

----------. *History and Imagery in British Churches.* London: John Murray, 1971.

----------. *Misericords: Medieval Life in English Woodcarving.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1954.

Andrews, William. *Curiosities of the Church: Studies of Curious Customs, Services and Records.* London: Methew and Co., 1890.

Anglo, Sydney. *The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

Ashley, Kathleen. M. 'Titivillus and the Battle of Words in *Mankind*'. *Annuali Mediaevali,* 16 (1975),129-150.

Aston, Margaret. 'Iconoclasm in England: Official and Clandestine'. In *Iconoclasm vs. Art and Drama.* Ed. Clifford Davidson and Ann Eljenholm Nichols. Michigan: Western Michigan University Press, 1989, 47-91.

Backhouse, Janet. *Books of Hours.* London: The British Library, 1988.

----------. *The Luttrell Psalter.* London: The British Library Board, 1989.

Baker, Donald C. 'Is *Wisdom* a Professional Play?'. In *The Wisdom Symposium.* Ed. Milla C. Riggio. New York: AMS Press, 1986, 67-86.

----------. 'The Date of *Mankind*'. *Philological Quarterly,* 42 (1963), 90-91.

Barclay, Alexander, trans. *The Ship of Fools*. 2 Vol. London: Henry Solheron & Co, 1874.

Barnum, P. H., ed. *Dives and Pauper*. Early English Text Society. London: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Beadle, Richard. 'The Scribal Problem in the Macro Manuscript'. *English Language Notes,* 21, No. 4 (June 1984), 1-13.

Beene, Lynne Dianne. 'Language Patterns in *Mankind*'.*The University of Southern Florida Language Quarterly,* 21, No. 3-4 (Spring-Summer 1983), 25-30.

Bell, Quentin. *On Human Finery.* New York: Schocken Books, 1976.

Belsey, Catherine. 'The Stage Plan of the *Castle of Perseverance*'. *Theatre Notebook,* 28, No. 3 (1974),124-133.

----------. *The Subject of Tragedy: Identity & Difference in Renaissance Drama.* London: Methuen, 1985.

Bennett, H. S. *The Pastons and Their England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Bennett, J. *'The Castle of Perseverance*: Redactions, Place and Date'. *Mediæval Studies,* 24 (1962), 141-153.

Bennett, J. B. *A Short History of the Parish Churches of East Mersea and West Mersea.* Ramsgate: The Church Publishers, 1962.

Bennett, Josephine Waters. 'The Mediaeval Loveday'. *Speculum.* 33 (1958), 351-370.

Benson, Larry D., ed. *The Riverside Chaucer.* 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Bergeron, David M. 'Actors in the English Civic Pageants'. *Renaissance Papers* (1972), 17-28.

----------. 'Medieval Drama and Tudor-Stuart Civic Pagaentry'.*The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies.* (1972), 279-293.

Bettey, J. H. *Church and Community: The Parish Church in English Life.* Bradford-on-Avon: Moonraker Press, 1979.

Bevington, David. '"Blake and wyght, fowll and fayer": Stage Picture in *Wisdom.*' In *The Wisdom Symposium.* Ed. Milla C. Riggio. New York: AMS Press, 1986, 18-36.

----------. 'Discontinuity in Medieval Acting Traditions'. In *Elizabethan Theatre V.* Ed. G. R. Hibbard. MacMillan Company of Canada, 1975, 1-16.

----------. *From Mankind to Marlowe.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.

----------. '"Man, Thinke on thine Endinge Day': Stage Pictures of Just Judgement in *The Castle of Perseverance'.* In *Homo, Memento Finis: The Iconography of Just Judgement in Medieval Art and Drama.* Ed. David Bevington. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University Press, 1985, 147-177.

----------. *Medieval Drama.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1975.

----------. 'Political Satire in the Morality *Wisdom Who Is Christ*'. *Renaissance Papers* (1963), 41-51.

----------, ed. *The Macro Plays: The Castle of Perseverance Wisdom Mankind.* Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1972.

Billington, Sandra. 'Routs and Reyes'. *Folklore,* 89, No. 2 (1978), 184-200.

----------. '"Suffer Fools Gladly": The Fools in Medieval England and *Mankind*'. In *The Fool and the Trickster.* Ed. P. Williams. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer; Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1979, 36-54.

Blackstone, Mary. A. 'Notes Towards a Patrons Calendar'. *Records of Early English Drama,* 6, No.1 (1981), 1-11.

Bradley, Carolyn. *A History of World Costume.* London: Peter Owen LTD, 1955.

Boucher, Francois. *A History of Costume in the West.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1967.

Bowman, Walter Parker and Robert Hamilton Ball. *Theatre Language: A Dictionary of Terms in English of the Drama and Stage from Medieval to Modern Times.* New York: Theatre Art Books, 1976.

Brandon, S. G. F., ed. *A Dictionary of Comparative Religion.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970.

Braunmuller, A. R and M. Hattaway, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Briscoe, Marianne.G. and John C. Coldewey. *Contexts for Early English Drama.* Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Brockett, Oscar. G. *History of the Theatre.* 3rd ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon Inc, 1977.

Bucknell, Peter A. *Entertainment and Ritual: 600 - 1600.* London: Stainer and Bell, 1979.

Burton E.J. *The British Theatre.* London: Herbert Jenkins, 1960.

Bush, George and Perry London. 'On the Disappearance of Knickers: Hypothesis for the Functional Analysis of the Psychology of Clothing'. *Journal of Social Psychology.* 51 (1960), 359-366.

Butterworth, Philip. 'Gunnepowdyr, Fyre and Thondyr'. *Medieval English Theatre* , 7, No. 2 (1985), 68-76.

Cahn, Kenneth S. 'Chaucer's Merchants and the Foreign Exchange: An Introduction to Medieval Finance'. *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 2 (1980), 81-119.

Caiger-Smith, Alan. *English Medieval Mural Paintings.* Oxford: Claredon Press, 1963.

Cameron, K and S. J. Kahrl. 'Staging the N-town Cycle'. *Theatre Notebook 21* (Spring, 1967), 122-138.

Campbell, Gordon., ed. *Macmillan Anthologies of English Literature. Vol 2: The Renaissance.* London: Macmillan, 1989.

Campbell, Josie P. *Popular Culture in the Middle Ages.* Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1986. 39-157.

Carson, Ada Lou and Herbert L. Carson. 'Domestic Tragedy in English: Brief Survey'. *Poetic Drama and Poetic Theory: Volume 1.* Ed. Dr. James Hogg. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1982, 26-29.

Cason, Clarence E. 'Additional Lines for Bale's *Kynge Johan'. Journal of English and Germanic Philology.* 27 (1928), 42-50.

Cawley, A.C., ed. *Everyman and Mediaeval Miracle Plays.* London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1984.

Cawley, A. C., ed. *The Wakefield Pageants in the Townley Cycle.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958.

Chambers, E. K. *The English Folk-Play.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933.

----------. *The Mediæval Stage.* London: Oxford University Press, 1903.

Cheney, Sheldon. *The Theatre: Three Thousand Years of Drama, Acting and Stagecraft.* New York: Tudor Publishing, 1943.

Clopper, L. M., ed. *Chester.* Records of Early English Drama. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.

Coe, Brian. *Stained Glass in England: 1150-1550.* London: W. H. Allen, 1981.

Coogan, M. P. *An Interpretation of the Morality Play, Mankind.* Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1947.

Cooper, Geoffrey and Christopher Wortham, ed. *The Summoning of Everyman.* Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1980.

Craig, Hardin. 'The Lincoln Cordwainers Pageant'. *PMLA*, 32 (1917), 605-615.

----------. *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

----------, ed. *Two Corpus Christi Plays.* 2nd ed. Early English Texts Society No.87. London: Oxford University Press, 1957.

Craik, T. W. 'The Reconstruction of Stage Action from Early Dramatic Texts'. *Elizabethan Theatre 5.* Ed. G. R. Hibbard. MacMillan Company of Canada, 1975, 76-91.

----------. *The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume and Acting.* Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1958.

Crane, John Kenny. 'An Honest Debtor?: A Note on Chaucer's Merchant, Line A276'. *English Language Notes*, 4, No. 2 (1966), 81-85.

Cross, F. L. & E. A. Livingstone. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.* 2nd Ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Cushman, L. W. *The Devil and the Vice in the English Dramatic Literature Before Shakespeare.* London: Frank Cass and Co Ltd, 1970.

Dahmus, J. *Dictionary of Mediæval Civilization.* New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1984.

Daniels, C. L and C. M. Stevans. *Encyclopædia of Superstitions, Folklore and the Occult Sciences of the World.* Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1971.

Davenport, W. A. 'Lusty Fresche galaunts'. In *Aspects of Early English Drama.* Ed. Paula Neuss. Cambridge: D. S Brewer, 1983. 110-128.

----------. *Fifteenth Century English Drama: The Early Moral Plays and their Literary Relations.* Cambridge: D. S Brewer, 1982.

Davidson, Clifford. *Drama and Art: An Introduction to the Use of Evidence From the Visual Arts for the Study of Early Drama.* Early Art and Drama, Series 1. Kalamazoo: The Medieval Institute, 1977.

----------. *Illustrations of the Stage and Acting in England to 1580.* Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991.

----------. 'The Lost Coventry Drapers' Play of Doomsday and its Iconographic Context'. Ed. Elizabeth Williams. *Leeds Studies in English*, 17 (1986), 141-158.

----------, ed. *The Saint Play in Medieval Europe.* Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986.

----------. 'Towards a Sociology of Visual Forms in the English Medieval Theatre. *Fifteenth Century Studies,* 13, No. 213 (1988), 221-235.

---------- and David E. O'Conner. *York Art: A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art Including Items Relevant to Early Drama.* Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1978.

---------- and Nichols, Ann E., ed. *Iconoclasm vs. Art and Drama.* Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1989.

De Hamel, Christopher. *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts.* London: Phaidon Press, 1994.

de Ricci, Seymore. *Census of Mediæval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada.* New York: B. Franklin, 1937.

d'Evelyn, Charlotte, ed. Peter Idley's *Instructions to His Son.* Modern Language Association of America Monograph Series 6. London: Oxford University Press; Boston: D. C. Heath and Co.,1935.

De Vita Contemplativa III. SS. Gelasii I Papæ, Aviti, Faustini, Necnon Joannis Diaconi, Juliani Pomerii, et Duorum Anonymorum Opera Omnia.... Ed. J. P. Migne. Patrologiæ Cursus Completus, Series Latina, vol. 59. Paris, 1862.

Deimling, H., ed. *The Chester Plays*, E.E.T.S. Extra Series 62, London: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Delasanta, Rodney. 'The Horsemen of the Canterbury Tales'. *Chaucer Review*, 3 (1968), 29-36.

Denny, Neville, ed. *Medieval Drama.* London: Edward Arnold, 1973.

Didron, Adolphe Napoléon. *Christian Iconography.* Trans. M. Stoke. London: George Bell and Sons, 1886.

Diehl, Huston. 'Inversion, Parody and Irony: The Visual Rhetoric of Renaissance English Tragedy'. *Studies in English Literature,* 22 (1982), 197-209.

Douglas, Audrey and Peter Greenfield, ed. *Cumberland Westmorland Gloucestershire.* Records of Early English Drama. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.

Easting, R., ed. *St Patrick's Purgatory.* Early English Text Society Original Series 298. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Eberle, Patricia J. 'Commercial Language and the Commercial Outlook in the General Prologue'. *Chaucer Review*, 18 No. 2 (1983), 161-174.

Eccles, Mark, ed. *The Macro Plays.* Early English Texts Society 262. London: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Eisenstein, E. L. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change.* 2 Vol. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Elliott, John. R. 'Mediæval Rounds and Wooden O's: The Mediæval Heritage of the Elizabethan Theatre'. In *Mediæval Drama.* Ed. Neville Denny. London: Edward Arnold, 1973, 223-246.

Eusebius, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine.* Trans. G. A. Williamson. New York: Dorset Press, 1965.

Evans, B. Ifor. *A Short History of English Drama.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1948.

Evans, Joan. *Dress in Mediaeval France.* Oxford: Clarendon Press 1952.

Every, George. *Christian Mythology.* London: Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd, 1987.

Fabri, Ralph. *Color, A Complete Guide for Artists.* New York: Watson Guptill Publications, 1967.

Fairholt, F. W. *Costume in England: A History of Dress to the End of the Eighteenth Century.* London: George Bell and Sons, 1885.

Feuillerat, Albert, ed. *Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary (The Loseley Manuscripts).* 1914; rpt. Vaduz: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1963.

Fifield, Merle. *The Castle and the Circle.* Ball State Monograph Number 6. Muncie: Ball State University, 1967.

Finucane, Ronald C. *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England.* London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1977.

Fletcher, Alan. J. '"Coveytyse Copbord Schal be at þe ende of the Castel be þe Beddys Feet": Staging the Death of Mankind in *The Castle of Perseverance'. English Studies,* 4 (1987), 305-312.

Flügel, John Carl. *The Psychology of Clothes.* New York: International Universities Press, 1966.

Ford, Boris. *Medieval Britain.* The Cambridge Cultural History Series, Vol. 2. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1988.

Freeman, Arthur, ed. Phillip Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses.* New York: Garland Publishing, 1973.

Furnivall, F. J., ed. 'Wynkyn de Worde's Treatyse of a Galaunt'. *Ballads From Manuscripts,* London: The Ballad Society, 1868.

----------, ed. *Hoccleve's Works.* Early English Texts Society, Extra Series 72. 1897; rpt. Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1973.

---------- and Alfred W. Pollard, ed. Phillip Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses.* London: 1879.

Gairdner, James, ed. *The Paston Letters, AD 1422-1509.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1904.

Galloway, David, ed. *Norwich.* Records of Early English Drama. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

Garber, Marjory. *Vested Interests.* New York: Routledge, 1992.

Gardiner, Harold. C. *Mysteries End: An Investigation of the Last Days of the Medieval Religious Stage.* Hamden, Conneticut: Archon Books, 1967.

Gardner, John. *The Construction of the Wakefield Cycle.* London: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974.

Garner, Stanton B. 'Theatricality in Mankind and Everyman'. *Studies in Philology,* 84, No. 3 (1987), 272-285.

Gayley, C. M. *Plays of Our Forefathers.* New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1907.

Geissinger, M. *Plays, Players and Playwrights.* New York: Hart Publishing Company Inc, 1975.

Gibson, Gail McMurray. 'The Play of *Wisdom* and the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds'. In *The Wisdom Symposium.* Ed. Milla C Riggio. New York: AMS Press, 1986, 39-66.

----------. *The Theatre of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Gillespie, Patti. P. and Kenneth M. Cameron. *Western Theatre Revolution and Revival.* New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1984.

Goffman, Erving *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* Middlesex: Penguin, 1971.

Gombrich, E. H. *Symbolic Images.* Oxford: Phaidon, 1972.

Green, Joseph Coleman. *The Medieval Morality of Wisdom Who is Christ.* Tennessee: The Joint University Libraries, 1938.

Greenslade, S. L. *The Church and Social Order: A Historical Sketch.* London: SCM Press Ltd, 1948.

Grew, Raymond and Nicholas Steneck, ed. *Society and History: Essays by Sylvia L. Thrupp.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977.

Grose, B and O. Kenworthy. *A Mirror to Life.* New York: CBS College Publishing, 1985.

Gurr, Andrew. *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Hadden A. W. and W. Stubbs. *Council and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland.* Oxford: Claredon Press, 1871.

Hall, Edward. *Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Famililies of Lancastre and Yorke....* London, 1548.

Hall, J. *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art.* New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

Hamilton Smith, C. *Ancient Costumes of Great Britain and Ireland From the Druids to the Tudors.* London: Bracken Books, 1989.

Happé, Peter. 'Properties and Costumes in the Plays of John Bale'. *Medieval English Theatre,* 2, No. 2 (1980), 55-65.

----------, ed. *Medieval English Drama.* London: Macmillan, 1984.

----------, ed. *Four Morality Plays.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979.

Harris, Max. 'Flesh and Spirits: The Battles between Virtues and Vices in Medieval Drama Reassessed'. *Medium Ævum,* 57 (1988), 56-63.

Harrison, D., intro. *The First and Second Prayer Books of King Edward the Sixth.* London: J. M. Dent, 1910.

Harthan, John. *Books of Hours.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1977.

Hassall, John. 'Plays at Clerkenwell'. *Modern Language Review,* 33 (1938), 564-567.

Hazlitt, W. Carew, ed. Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry from the Twelfth to the Close of the Sixteenth Century.* 4 vol. New York: Haskell House Publishers Ltd, 1970.

Herford, C. H. and P. and E. Simpson, ed. *Ben Jonson: Play Commentary and Masque Commentary.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950.

Hildahl, Frances. J. 'Penitence and Parody in *The Castle of Perseverance: Early Drama to 1600.* Ed. Albert H. Tricomi. Acta, vol.13. Binghampton, New York: Centre for mediaeval and renaissance Studies, State University of New York, 1987, 129-141.

Hildburgh, W. L. 'English Alabaster Carvings as Records of the Medieval Religious Drama'. *Archaelogia,* 93 (1949), 51-101.

Hodges, C. Walter. *The Globe Restored: A Study of the Elizabethan Theatre.* London: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Hodges, Laura F. 'A Reconsideration of the Monk's Costume'. *The Chaucer Review,* 26, No. 2 (1991), 133-146.

Holbrook, S. E. 'Covetousness, Contrition and the Town in *The Castle of Peseverance*'. *Fifteenth Century Studies,*13, No. 213 (1988), 275-289.

Hollander, Anne. *Seeing Through Clothes.* New York: Avon Books, 1975

Houle, Peter. J. *The English Morality and Related Drama.* Connecticut: Archon Books, 1972.

Houston, Mary G. *Medieval Costume in England and France: The 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries.* London: Adam & Charles Black, 1939.

Hurlock, Elizabeth B. 'Sumptuary Laws'. In *Dress, Adornment and the Social Order.* Ed. M. E Roach and J. B Eicher. New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1965, 295-301.

Hussey, Maurice. *The Merchant's Prologue and Tale.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

Ingram R. W., ed. *Coventry.* Records of Early English Drama. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

----------. '"To find the Pleyers and all that longeth therto": Notes on the Production of Medieval Drama in Coventry'. In

Elizabethan Theatre 5. Ed. G. R. Hibbard. London: Macmillan, 1975, 17-44.

Jacob, E. F. *The Fifteenth Century; 1399-1485.* The Oxford History of England Series. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.

Jeffrey, David L. 'English Saints' Plays'. In *Medieval Drama.* Ed. Neville Denny. London: Edward Arnold, 1973, 69-90.

Johnson, Paul. *British Cathedrals.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980.

Johnston, Alexandra F. 'The Audience of the English Moral Play'. *Fifteenth Century Studies,* 13, No. 213 (1988), 291-297.

---------- and Margaret Dorrell. 'The Doomsday Pageants of the York Mercers, 1433-1526'. *Leeds Studies in English,* 6 (1971), 29-34.

----------. '*Wisdom* and the Records: Is There a Moral?'. In *The Wisdom Symposium.* Ed. Milla C. Riggio. New York: AMS Press, 1986, 87-102.

---------- and Margaret Rogerson, ed. *York.* Records of Early English Drama. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.

Joseph, B. L. *Elizabethan Acting.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Joseph, Stephen. *The Story of the Playhouse in England.* London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1963.

Kahrl, Stanley J. 'Medieval Drama in England, 1973; Chester and Ely'. *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama,* 15-16, (1972-1973), 117-123.

Kail, J. *Twenty Six Political and Other Poems from the Oxford Mss Digby 102 and Douce 322.* Early English Texts Society Original Series 124. 1904; rpt. Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1973.

Kantrowitz, Joanne Spencer. 'Dramatic Allegory, or, Exploring the Moral Play'. *Comparative Drama,* 7 (1973), 68-82.

Katzenellenbogen, Adolf. *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century.* London: The Warburg Institute, 1977.

Kelley, Michael R. *Flamboyant Drama: A Study of The Castle of Perseverance, Mankind and Wisdom.* London: Feffer and Simons Inc, 1979.

Ker, N. R. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain.* 2nd ed. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1964.

Kieckhefer, Richard. *Magic in the Middle Ages.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Kinghorn, A. M. *Mediæval Drama.* London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1968.

Knight, G. Wilson. *The Golden Labyrinth: A Study of British Drama.* London: Phoenix House, 1962, 29-31.

Knott, Thomas A. 'Chaucer's Anonymous Merchant'. *Philological Quarterly,* 1 (January 1922), 1-16.

Konigson, Elie. 'Le Masque du Démon: Phantasmes et Metamorphoses sur la Scène Médiévale'. In *Le Masque: Du Rite au Theatre* . Ed. Odette Aslan. Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherce Scientifique,1985, 103-116.

Lancashire, Ian. 'Orders for Twelfth Day and Night circa 1515 in the Second Northumberland Household Book'. *English Literary Renaissance,* 10, No.1 (1980), 7-32.

Laver, James. *Costume in the Theatre.* London: George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., 1964.

----------. *Taste and Fashion.* London: George G Harrap and Co Ltd., 1937.

Lewis, William. 'Playing with Fire and Brimstone: Auctor Ludens, Diabolus Ludicrus'. *Essays on Plays in Literature.* Philadelphia: Benjamin, 1986, 47-61.

Lindenbaum, Sheila. 'Entertainment in English Monasteries'. *Fifteenth Century Studies,* 13, No. 213 (1988), 411-421.

Linthicum, Marie. *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries.* Oxford: Claredon Press, 1936.

Lloyd, T. H. *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Lopez, Robert, S. *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Lupton, Thomas. *All For Money.* 1578; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1970.

Lurie, Alison. *The Language of Clothes.* London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1981.

Macdonald, Peter. F. 'Drama Criticism and the Value of Productions'. *Fifteenth Century Studies,* 13, No. 213 (1988), 13-21.

Macintyre, Jean. '"One that hath two Gowns": Costume Change in Some Elizabethan Plays'. *English Studies in Canada,* 13 (March 1987), 12-22.

Mâle, E. *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France.* Paris: Libraire Armand Colin, 1931.

Manion, Margaret. *The Wharncliffe Hours.* Art Monograph 1. Sydney: Sydney University Press for The Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1972.

Mann, Jill. *Chaucer and Medieval Estate Satire.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.

Mayo, Janet. *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress.* London: D. T Batsford, 1984.

Maclean, Sally Beth. 'Players on Tour: New Evidence from Records of Early English Drama'. In *The Elizabethan Theatre 10.* Ed. C. E. McGee. Port Credit, Ontario: P. D. Meany, 1988, 55-72.

McKisack, M. *The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

McVeagh, J. *Tradefull Merchants; The Portrayal of the Capitalist in Literature.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.

Meredith, P and John Astington. '"Item For A Grone - iijd", Records and Performances'. *Proceedings of the First Colloquium.* Records of Early English Drama. Ed. JoAnna Dutka. Toronto: Records of Early English Drama, 1979.

---------- and John E. Tailby. *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages: Texts and Documents in*

English Translation. Early Drama, Art and Music Monograph Series 4. Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1983.

Mitchell, W. J. T. *Iconology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Molloy, John Joseph. *A Theological Interpretation of the Moral Play Wisdom Who is Christ.* Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1952.

Molsdorf, Wilheim. *Christliche Symbolik der Mittelalterlichen Kunst.* Austria: Hiersemann, 1926.

Morris, R., ed. *The Story of Genesis and Exodus.* Early English Texts Society 7. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1865.

Mundy, J. H. *Europe in the High Middle Ages, 1150 - 1309.* New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Musgrove, S., ed. *Ben Jonson, The Alchemist.* Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1968.

Nagler, A. M. *A Source Book in Theatrical History: Twenty Five Centuries of Stage History in More than 300 Basic Documents and Other Primary Material.* New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1952.

----------. *The Mediæval Religious Stage: Shapes and Phantoms.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.

Nelson, Alan H., ed. *Cambridge.* Records of Early English Drama. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.

----------, ed. *The Plays of Henry Medwell.* Cambridge: D. S Brewer, 1980.

Neuss, Paula. 'Active and Idle Language: Dramatic Images in Mankind'. In *Mediæval Drama.* Ed. Neville Denny. London: Edward Arnold, 1973, 41-68.

----------, ed. *Aspects of Early English Drama.* Cambridge: D. S Brewer, 1983.

Newton, Stella Mary. *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340 - 1365.* Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1980.

Nichols, Ann Eljenholm. 'Costume in the Moralities: The Evidence of East Anglian Art'. *Comparative Drama,* 20, No. 4 (1986-7), 305-314.

Nicoll, Allardyce. *British Drama.* London: Harrap, 1925.

Nugent, S. Georgia. *Allegory and Poetics: The Structure and Imagery of Prudentius' Psychomachia.* New York: Peter Lang, 1985.

Orgel, Stephen. *The Illusion of Power: Political Theatre in the English Renaissance.* Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975.

Owst, G. R. *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England.* 2nd ed. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961.

Pafford, J. H. P. 'Bale's *King John'. Journal of English and German Philology,* 30 (1931), 176-178.

Panofsky, Erwin. *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art.* London: Granada Publishing Ltd., 1965.

Park, B. A. 'The Character of Chaucer's Merchant'. *English Language Notes,* 1 (March 1964), 167-175.

Parsons, Talcott, Edward Shils, Kaspar D Naegele & Jesse R Pitts, eds. *Theories of Society: Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory.* London: The Free Press, Macmillan Publishing Co, 1965.

Partington, J. R. *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder.* Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1960.

Partner, Peter. 'Papal States'. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1987.

Paulsen, Charles. *The English Rebels.* London and New York: Journeyman Press, 1984.

Pederson, Steven I. *The Tournament Tradition and Staging The Castle of Peserverance.* Michigan: U.M.I. Research Press, 1987.

Pollard, Alfred W, ed. *English Miracle Plays: Moralities and Interludes; Specimens and Extracts.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904.

Procter, Francis. *A History of the Book of Common Prayer.* 17th Ed. London: Macmillan and Co, 1984.

Prosser, Eleanor. *Drama and Religion in the Early Mystery Plays: A Re-evaluation.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961.

Proudfoot, Richard. 'The Virtue of Perseverance'. In *Aspects of Early English Drama.* Ed. Paula Neuss. Cambridge: D. S Brewer, 1983, 92-98.

Purvis, J. S., ed. *The York Mystery Cycle of Mystery Plays.* London: SPCK, 1957.

Quaife, G. R. *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives: Peasants and Illicit Sex in Early Seventeenth Century England.* London: Croom Helm, 1979.

Racinet, Albert. *The Historical Encyclopædia of Costume.* London: Studio Editions, 1988.

Raglan, Lord. *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama.* London: Watts and Co, 1936.

Ralston, Michael. E. 'The Four Daughters of God in *The Castell Of Perseverance'. Comitatus,* 15 (1984), 35-44.

Reiss, T. J. *Towards Dramatic Illusion: Theatrical Technique and Meaning from Hardy to Horace.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.

Remnant, G. L. *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

Rhys, Ernest, ed. *Everyman and Other Interludes.* London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1909.

Ribner, Irving. 'Morality Roots of the Tudor History Play'. *Tulane Studies in English,* 4 (1954), 21-43.

Riggio, Milla Cozart. 'The Allegory of Feudal Acquisition in *The Castle of Peserverance*'. In *Allegory, Myth and Symbol.* Ed. Morton W. Bloomfield. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981, 187-208.

----------. 'The Staging of Wisdom'. In *The Wisdom Symposium.* Ed. Milla C. Riggio. New York: AMS Press Inc, 1986, 1-17.

----------, ed. *The Wisdom Symposium Papers From the Trinity College Medieval Festival.* New York: AMS Press Inc,1986.

Roach, Mary Ellen and Joanne Bubolz Eicher, ed. *Dress, Adornment and the Social Order.* New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1965.

Rossiter, A. P. *English Drama from Early Times to the Elizabethans: Its Background, Origins and Developments.* London: Hutchinson University Library, 1966.

Rowling, Marjorie. *Everyday Life of Medieval Travellers.* New York: Dorset Press, 1971.

Rudwin, M. *The Devil in Legend and Literature.* La Salle, Illinois: Open Court Publishing Company, 1973.

Ruggiers, P. G. *The Art of the Canterbury Tales.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965.

Schell, Edgar T., ed. *English Moraliy Plays and Moral Interludes.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1969.

Schiller, Gertrude. *Iconography of Christian Art.* Trans. Janet Seligman. Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, 1971-2.

Sheingorn, Pamela and David Bevington. 'Alle this was Token Domysday to Drede'. In *Homo, Memento Finis: The Iconography of Just Judgement in Medieval Art and Drama.* Ed. and Intro. David Bevington. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University Press, 1985, 124-135.

----------. 'On Using Medieval Art in the Study of Medieval Drama: An Introduction to Methodology'. *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* , 22 (1979), 101-09.

Sill, G. G. *A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art.* London: Cassell and Collier Macmillan, 1976.

Smart, W. K. '*Mankind* and the Mumming Plays'. *Modern Language Notes*, 32 (1917), 21-25.

----------. Some English and Latin Sources and Parallels for the Morality of *Wisdom.* Wisconsin: Mensha, 1912.

----------. 'Some Notes on *Mankind*'. *Philological Quarterly*, 42 (1963), 45-58 and 293-313.

Smith, L. T., ed. and intro. *York Plays.* New York: Russell and Russell, 1885.

Somerset, J. A. B. '"Fair is Foul and Foul is Fair": Vice-Comedy's Development and Theatrical Effects'. In *Elizabethan Theatre 5.* Ed. G. R. Hibbard. London: Macmillan, 1975, 54-75.

Southern, Richard. *The Medieval Theatre in the Round: A Staging of The Castle of Perseverance and Related Matters.* London: Faber and Faber, 1957.

----------.*The Seven Ages of the Theatre.* London: Faber and Faber, 1962.

----------. *The Staging of Plays Before Shakespeare.* London: Faber and Faber, 1973.

Spivack, Charlotte. *The Comedy of Evil on Shakespeare's Stage.* London: Associated University Presses, 1978.

----------. 'Feminine versus Masculine in English Morality Drama'. *Fifteenth Century Studies,* 13, No. 213 (1988), 137-144.

Stratmann, Francis Henry. *A Middle English Dictionary.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1891.

Stubbs, W. *The Constitutional History of England.* 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Tait, James, ed. *Chronica Johannis de Rading et Anonymi Cantuariensis, 1346-1367.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1914.

Taylor, B. S., ed. *Selections From the Castle of Perseverance.* Sydney: Drama Studies Unit University of Sydney, 1977.

Taylor, Frank and John S. Roskell, ed. and trans. *Gesta Henrici Quinti, The Deeds of Henry V.* Oxford: Claredon Press, 1975.

Thompson, C. J. S. *The Hand of Destiny.* Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1970.

Thrupp, Sylvia L. *The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.

Tilley, Morris P. *A Dictionary of Proverbs in English in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950.

Traver, Hope. *The Four Daughters of God: A Study of the Versions of this Allegory with Especial Reference to those in Latin, French*

and English. Bryn Mawr College Monographs 6. Philadelphia: Bryn Mawr College, 1907.

Trevelyan, George Macauley. *England in the Age of Wycliffe.* London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1915.

Tucker Brooke, C. F. *The Tudor Drama.* New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911.

Tuve, Rosemond. *Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediæval Books and Their Posterity.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

Twycross, Meg. 'Apparell Comlye'. In *Aspects of Early English Drama.* Ed. Paula Neuss. Cambridge: Brewer; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1983, 30-49.

----------. 'Beyond the Picture Theory: Image and Activity in Medieval Drama'. *Word and Image in the Theatre,* 4, Nos. 3 and 4 (July - December 1988), 589-617.

---------- and Sarah Carpenter. 'Masks in Mediæval English Theatre: the Mystery Plays'. *Medieval English Theatre,* 3-4, (1981-2), 7-44, 69-113, 28-47.

Tydeman, William. *English Medieval Theatre 1400 - 1500.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986.

----------. *The Theatre in the Middle Ages.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Ullman, Walter *The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages.* London: Methuen and Co, 1967.

Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class.* New York: Random House, 1934.

Vince, Ronald W. *Ancient and Medieval Theatre: A Historiographical Handbook.* Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Wager, Lewis. *The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene.* London; 1566.

Waugh, S. L. *England in the Reign of Edward III.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Welsford, Enid. *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship Between Peotry and the Revels.* New York: Russell and Russell, 1962.

Westfall, Suzanne R. 'The Chapel: Theatrical Performance in Early Tudor Great Households'. *English Literary Renaissance*, 18, No. 2 (1988), 171-193.

Wickham, Glynne. *Early English Stages 1300-1660.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.

----------. *English Moral Interludes.* London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1976.

Williams, Arnold. 'The English Moral Play Before 1500'. *Annuale Mediaevali*, 4 (1963), 5-22.

Williams, Paul V. A. *The Fool and the Trickster.* Cambridge: Brewer, 1979.

Wilson, F. P. *The English Drama, 1485 - 1585.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

Woolf, Rosemary. *The English Mystery Plays.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

Wright, Thomas, ed. *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History.* Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages (Rolls Series). London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts,1859.

Yarwood, Doreen. *English Costume From the Second Century B.C. to 1952.* London: B. T. Batsford, 1952.

----------. *The Encyclopædia of World Costume.* New York: Bonanza Books, 1978.

Zacour, Norman. *An Introduction to Medieval Institutions.* New York: St Martin's Press, 1976.

D.B. Aitchison
Bookbinder
122 Windang Rd.
Primbee 2502
Ph 42742229